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PAN'S PIPE, THREE PASTORAL ECLOGUES, WITH OTHER VERSES, BY FRANCIS SABIE (1595)

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary records relating to Francis Sabie are restricted, so far as is known at present, to the several entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, which are here reproduced from Arber's *Transcript*:

12 Junij [1587]

Edmond Sabie SON OF FFAUNCIS SABIE OF LICHEFEILD in the countie of STAFFORD Scholemaster: hathe putt him self apprentice to **Robert Cullen** citizen and Staconner of London for the terme of Seven yeres from the Date hereof [12 June 1587].¹

—ARBER, II, 146.

¹ This entry, it seems, was not noticed before Collier cited it in *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, London, 1865, I, xxxix*; New York, 1866, IV, 1-2. Collier observed that Sabie had dedicated his *Adam's Complaint*, etc., to the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Howland, and it must have been in an endeavor to discover "what claim he [Sabie] had upon that prelate" that this entry was found, upon which Collier's comment runs thus: "It is not stated whether the father was a clergyman as well as a schoolmaster: it seems probable that he was so, although we do not meet with Sabie's name in the records of either University." From this time on Francis Sabie is designated "Schoolmaster of Lichfield," as is at once shown in Hazlitt's *Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, London, 1867. Sabie, however, had further relations with distinguished personages. The *Fisherman's Tale* is dedicated to "M. Henrie Mordant, sonne and heire to the Right Honorable the Lord Mordant," and *Flora's Fortune* is addressed to "M. Francis Tresham, sonne and heire to the renowned and vertuous Knight Sir Thomas Tresham." In this instance it is "great and immerited friendship" that emboldened the author "to present vnto your worship, this my vnpolished poeme, from which otherwise the imbecillitie of my skill in this diuine arte, and rudenesse of these my lines doe altogether dehort me" (*The British Bibliographer*, I, 494, 497-98).

Sabie's use of the place-name *Benefeldia*, in *Author ad Librum* (l. 3), may perhaps indicate something with reference to his personal history. It is, however, kindly reported by Rev. W. C. Richardson, rector of the church of Benefield (near Oundle), who acknowledges the assistance of Rev. R. M. Sergeantson, of St. Peter's Rectory, Northampton, that the registers of marriages, baptisms, and burials at the church of Benefield do not extend farther back than the year 1570, and that between the years 1570 and 1597 the name Sabie does not occur.

xxj Novembris [1594]¹

Richard Jones / Entred for his copie vnder the wardens handes. a booke intituled, *the fisher mans tale conteyninge the storie of CASSANDER a Gretian knight*.

—ARBER, II, 666.

iij Januarij [1595]

Richard Jones / Entred for his copie vnder master warden Binges hand, a booke intituled *PAN his pipe / conteyninge Three pastorall Egloges in Englishe Hexamiter with other delightfull verses*.

—ARBER, II, 668.

As to the complete list of Sabie's works, no doubt has been attached at any time to the acceptance of the surviving four books as comprising all the compositions that this writer ever gave to the public. The list is as follows:

1. *The Fisherman's Tale: Of the famous Actes, Life and loue of Cassander a Grecian Knight*. 1595. 4°.

2. *Flora's Fortune*. *The second part and finishing of the Fisherman's Tale*. 1595. 4°.

3. *Pans Pipe, Three Pastorall Eglogues, in English Hexameter. With Other Poetical Verses delightfull. For the further delight of the Reader, the Printer hath annexed hereunto the delectable Poeme of the Fisherman's Tale*. 1595. 4°.

4. *Adams Complaint. The Olde Worldes Tragedie. David and Bathsheba*. 1596. 4°.

Each of these volumes was "Imprinted at London by Richard Jones," and none of them is known to have attained to a second edition; the *Fisherman's Tale*, however, was to be obtained either in separate form or bound up with *Pan's Pipe*. Moreover, there is no evidence that *Pan's Pipe* was first issued separately; it is always reported with the compound title-page, in which 'the further delight of the reader' is so generously considered.²

¹In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Sabie," this date is misprinted "11 Nov.;" and that of the following entry is misprinted "11 Jan."

²The reviewer, J[oseph] H[aslewood], of the two separate books, the *Fisherman's Tale* and *Flora's Fortune*, in *The British Bibliographer* I (1810), 488-503, referring to *Pan's Pipe* and the *Fisherman's Tale* writes (p. 501): "Neither piece appears to have obtained a very favorable reception from the public, as Jones soon found it necessary, 'for the further delight of the reader,' to annex to the first 'the delectable poem of the Fisherman's tale.'" The probable truth in the first clause of this statement does not, of course, warrant the fabrication of bibliographic details. But Haslewood was not so much fabricating details as submitting to be misled by Warton (*History of English Poetry* [1781], III, 405, note n), who had cited the registration date and title of *Pan's Pipe* as the date and title of the published book: "In 1594, Richard Jones published

Not only did none of Sabie's books ever pass to a second edition, but one must believe also that the first editions were not large. All these books have long been scarce, and it has been the schoolmaster's fortune to become, on the one hand, a very much neglected author and, on the other hand, a very attractive "item" in the accounts of the "collector." Even the courtesy of reprinting old books has hitherto been denied him, except in the case of the capricious edition, limited to ten copies, of the *Fisherman's Tale* (both parts), "reprinted from a Bodleian manuscript," under the editorial direction of Halliwell-Phillipps, in 1867.¹

The present reprint of *Pan's Pipe* represents the text of the printed copy that has long been in the possession of the British Museum.² The unsettled orthography and the imperfect punctuation of the original have been reproduced with minute exactness. It is very

'Pan His Pipe, conteyninge Three Pastorall Eglogs in English hexamiter with other delightfull verses.' Licenced Jan. 3. Registr Station. B. fol. 316, b." Almost a century later this matter is still not clearly analyzed by W. Carew Hazlitt (*Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, 1867, p. 530): "No perfect copy of this volume," referring to the volume bearing the compound title, "seems to be known. The first portion—Pan's Pipe—is among the King's Books in the British Museum, and consists of 16 leaves; but it does not contain the *Fisherman's Tale*, which is nothing more than Greene's *Pandosto*, 1588, versified. Heber had the *Fisherman's Tale*, 1595, and it was sold among his books as a complete volume, no bibliographer seeming to have been aware that it really should form part of *Pan's Pipe*, being mentioned in the title of the latter." Here there is a twofold error, the denial of the *Fisherman's Tale* as a separately published book, and the failure to notice that the bibliographers had been misled by Warton. It must be added that H. Oskar Sommer (*Erster Versuch über die englische Hirtendichtung*, Marburg, 1888, p. 55) continues the error of dating the volume 1594, and retains a portion of the registration title. On the other hand, Katharina Windscheid (*Die englische Hirtendichtung von 1579–1625*, Halle, 1895, p. 39) avoids the pitfall and accurately transcribes the compound title from the printed book itself. That Sommer was unduly dependent on the bibliographers is to be inferred from an additional misstatement: "Der Name Sabbie geht aus dem 'Register of the Stationer's Hall' (Jan. 3d B. fol. 316b) hervor."

¹ See Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 55, and art. "Sabie," *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² But until recently this copy was incomplete, lacking the *Fisherman's Tale* which is required by the compound title. The completion of the volume is reported by Robert Edmund Graves, in *Bibliographica*, London (1897), III, 428: "The British Museum has by the dispersal of the Isham books been enriched by the most important additions in English literature made for many years . . . it has obtained copies of . . . Sabie's *Fisherman's Tale* and *Flora's Fortune*, 1595, completing that author's *Pan's Pipe*, which was already in the library." This list of acquired books includes also a copy of Sabie's *Adam's Complaint*, 1596. An account of the finding of these and other "choicest Elizabethan books" in a disused lumber-room at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, was communicated by the finder, Mr. Charles Edmonds ("of the house of Willis and Sotheran"), to *The Times* of October 4, 1867; and an article in *The Times* of August 31, 1894 (not 1895, as in the *Dic. Nat. Biog.*), entitled "Elizabethan Literature at the British Museum," contains a report of the sale of the Isham books, which is to be compared with Mr. Graves's later report in *Bibliographica*, cited above.

obvious that the shorter spelling of a word and the occasional symbol of contraction are often due to the want of space for a long line. The typography of the book is not of superior character. Most of the proper names that were to be in italics are, for lack of the proper supply of type, disfigured by having the initial letter from the Roman font. The uncouth form of these initial letters does not reappear in this reprint.

The principal interest of Sabie's *Eclogues*—to people who mention them at all—seems to be that they “constituted the first attempt in English at writing original eclogues in Vergilian meter.”¹ But there is another matter which deserves some attention, namely, the question of his sources; and the following notes may be of interest not only to readers of *Pan's Pipe*, but to students of the pastoral eclogue in general. Not that his sources were all very remote; indeed, when he took up his pen “to expell the accustomed tediousness of colde winters nightes,”² he could find subjects for his verse even in the familiar instruments of his daily toil. Like his fellow schoolmaster Holofernes, he had a high regard for the Latin hexameters of “good old Mantuan.”³ When he attempted the elegiac couplet, he had his model in another favorite schoolbook, the *Tristia* of Ovid.⁴ And one of his shorter poems is based upon a bit of contemporary Latin verse.

1. Borrowings from Mantuan

The very theme of the first Eclogue, “the prosperous euent Of my loue” (36–37), suggests a rather large debt to Mantuan's first, *De honesto amore et felici eius exitu*. And it borrows freely from some of Mantuan's other eclogues as well, especially the second, third, and

¹ Walter W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906, p. 114. Mr. Greg adds, “and the injudicious experiment has not, I believe, been repeated.” So H. O. Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 55, “als einziges Beispiel von Eclogen in englischen Hexametern.”

² *The British Bibliographer*, I (1810), 498.

³ Dr. K. Windscheid, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41, pointed out that a passage of the first Eclogue, and a long passage of the third, are taken from Mantuan.

⁴ In 1582 the Lords of the Privy Council ordered Christopher Ocland's *Anglorum Praelia* to be used in the grammar schools, “in place of some of the heathen poetes nowe read among them, as Ovide *De arte amandi*, *De tristibus*, or such lyke” (Foster Watson, *Journal of Education*, London, June, 1899, p. 364; and *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, London, 1909, p. 81). But in 1588 William Kempe's *Education of Children in Learning* could still prescribe Ovid, *De tristibus*, for the fifth form, Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1904, p. 684.

fourth. The opening lines (1-4) may be compared with the beginning of Mantuan's fifth:

Candide, nobiscum pecudes aliquando solebas
pascere et his gelidis calamos inflare sub umbris
et miscere sales simul et certare palaestra.

Ll. 18-24 are a paraphrase of Mantuan's third, 17-24:

aspice quo tenuem victum sudore paramus,
quot mala pro grege, pro natis, pro coniuge pastor
fert miser. infestis aestate caloribus ardet,
frigoribus riget hibernis; dormimus ad imbrem
cotibus in duris vel humi; contagia mille,
mille premunt morbi pecudes, discrimina mille
sollicitant, latro insidias intentat ovili
atque lupus milesque lupo furacior omni.

Ll. 27-32 are a paraphrase of Mantuan's first, 1-5:

Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra
ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores,
ne, si forte sopor nos occupet, ulla ferarum
quae modo per segetes tacite insidiantur adultas
saeviat in pecudes; melior vigilantia somno.

In l. 46 the name "Janus" is borrowed from Mantuan's fourth. The story of "Amyntas" (77-93)—which rather interrupts the narrative—is taken from Mantuan's second and third. "Under a shade" (*frondente sub ulmo*, ii, 63) he saw Galatea and "burnt in her love," and was thereafter "unmindfull quite of his heardling;" cf. ii, 107-8:

oblitusque greges et damna domestica totus
uritur et noctes in luctum expendit amaras.

Tityrus' prudent warning (81-82) is borrowed from Mantuan, ii, 115 ff.:

dic, age, si nosti quemquam, reminiscere si quem
videris hoc pacto ditescere, etc.;

and Amyntas' reply (83-91) from iii, 103-24:

o me felicem, si cum mea fata vocabunt,
in gremio dulcique sinu niveisque lacertis
saltem anima caput hoc languens abeunte iaceret;
illa sua nobis morientia lumina dextra
clauderet. . . .

o nemorum Silvane pater, servate (precamur)
 collibus in vestris gelidisque in vallibus omne
 silvarum rurisque decus. circumdate saltus
 saepibus et prohibete pecus, ne floribus obsit.
 ista (precor) dominae servate in funera nostrae.
 tunc omnis spargatur humus; . . .
hic tegitur virgo cui nil quin diva vocari
debuerit deerat, nisi dura fuisset amanti.

The melancholy end of Amyntas (92-93 and 186-91) is told in Mantuan, iii, 147 ff. The story of the boy who fell into a covered wolf-pit while searching for his lost ram (97-101) is borrowed from Mantuan's fourth, 38-42 (cf. especially l. 42, *est caper in vinclis, puer est in carcere*); and with it comes the statement (118), "found I my Ram in a thicket tyde." Here the borrowing is rather careless, for while Mantuan's goat had actually been tied in a thicket (*viminibus validis inter dumeta ligarat*, 31), Sabine's ram was "caught in a thicket" (101) when chased by dogs. The rustic dance on "holie-day" (124-26) is suggested by Mantuan, ii, 63-65:

lux ea sacra fuit Petro: frondente sub ulmo
 mixta erat ex omni pubes post prandia vico
 ducebatque leves buxo resonante choreas.

And the experience of Tityrus, 123,

Shunning an outward heat, a fire I purchased inward,

is the experience of Mantuan's Amyntas, ii, 86:

exteriorem aestum fugiens intrinsecus ardes.

Phillida's beauty (134-38) is the beauty of Mantuan's Galla, i, 44-47:

namque erat ore rubens et pleno turgida vultu
 et, quamvis oculo paene esset inutilis uno,
 cum tamen illius faciem mirabar et annos,
 dicebam Triviae formam nihil esse Dianae.

Tityrus' father invites the confidence of the love-sick youth, and promises his help in the matter (162 ff.), much as Faustus' father behaves in Mantuan, i, 125-34.¹ The rustic wedding with its "great good cheere" and its piping and dancing (209-10) may be compared

¹ K. Windscheid, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

with the rustic wedding in the same Latin poem (157-71). And the closing lines of this eclogue (224-27) may be compared with the closing lines of Mantuan's second:

cernis ut a summo liventia nubila Baldo
se agglomerent? oritur grando. ne forte vagantes
tempestas deprenat oves, discedere tempus;

or of Mantuan's third:

sed iam vesper adest et sol se in nube recondens,
dum cadit, agricolis vicinos nuntiat imbres.
cogere et ad caulas pecudes convertere tempus.

In the second Eclogue, 230-31, the expression "how many *Caribdis* . . . would I not easily go through" may be compared with Mantuan, Ecl. iii, 126-27:

per centum Scyllas ad te, per mille Charybdes
tranare laturus opem.

And in the third, Damon's "dittie," of the "stately progeny of herdsmen," is taken bodily from Mantuan's seventh, 9-39.¹

2. Borrowings from Ovid

In the second Eclogue, the model of Sabie's elegiac verses is the *Tristia* of Ovid. At l. 135,

But my time imitates Swans white and hoary feathers,

there is an interesting translation of *Tr.*, iv, 8, 1:

iam mea cygneas imitantur tempora plumas.

In ll. 178-79 there is an echo of *Tr.*, i, 3, 81-82:

'non potes avelli: simul hinc, simul ibimus,' inquit:
'te sequar et coniunx exulis exul ero.'

With l. 194, "neither ire of Gods, time an eater of all things," etc., one may compare Ovid, *Met.*, xv, 871-72:

quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas;

¹ K. Winscheld, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

also *Met.*, xv, 234, *tempus edax rerum*. In Faustus' letter "to his loyall Alinda," ll. 206-10 are due to Ovid; cf. *Tr.*, i, 5, 47-48:

tot mala sum passus quot in aethere sidera lucent
parvaeque quot siccus corpora pulvis habet;

also *Tr.*, iv, 1, 55-59; v, 1, 31-33; v, 2, 23-27; v, 6, 37-41; *Pont.*, ii, 7, 25-30. Ll. 214-17 are due to *Tr.*, iii, 4, 59-62:

coniugis ante oculos, sicut praesentis, imago est;
illa meos casus ingravat, illa levat.
ingravat hoc, quod abest: levat hoc, quod praestat amorem
impositumque sibi firma tuetur onus;

and ll. 220-21 to *Tr.*, iii, 3, 51-54:

parce tamen lacerare genas, nec scinde capillos:
non tibi nunc primum, lux mea, raptus ero.
cum patriam amisi, tunc me periisse putato:
et prior et gravior mors fuit illa mihi.

The closing message, l. 235, may be compared with the closing message, *Tr.*, iii, 3, 88:

quod, tibi qui mittit, non habet ipse, 'vale,'

or with *Tr.*, v, 13, 1-2; *Pont.*, i, 10, 2. A part of Alinda's reply is modeled on *Tr.*, iv, 6; cf. l. 243 with l. 15:

hoc etiam saevas paulatim mitigat iras,

and ll. 244-47 with the beginning of the same Latin poem:

tempore ruricolae patiens fit taurus aratri, etc.

*See also Ovid, *A. A.*, i, 471 ff.; Tibullus, i, 4, 17-18. L. 260,

Earth shal beare starres, heauen shal be cleft with a coulter,

is a translation of *Tr.*, i, 8, 3:

terra feret stellas, caelum findetur aratro.

The motto which is set on Sabie's title-page is the first couplet of the *Tristia* (with the substitution of *arva* for *urbem*). In *Ecl.*, ii, 79-80, 106-7, there is a reminiscence of Ovid, *Met.*, i, 192-95:

sunt mihi semidei, sunt rustica numina Nymphae
 Faunique Satyrique et monticolae Silvani:
 quos quoniam caeli nondum dignamur honore,
 quas dedimus, certe terras habitare sinamus.

Ecl. i, 43-44, may be compared with *Met.*, i, 481-82:

saepe pater dixit 'generum mihi, filia, debes.'
 saepe pater dixit 'debes mihi, nata, nepotes;'

and i, 133 with *Met.*, i, 502:

si qua latent, meliora putat.

3. Borrowings from Virgil and Lyly

The introductory poem prefixed to the first Eclogue shows an acquaintance with Virgil's fourth Georgic. "Progne with her bloody breast," l. 9, is Virgil's *manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis*, l. 15. And the bees "with Thyme loding their thyres," ll. 18-19, are Virgil's bees *crura thymo plenae*, l. 181. At the close of the first Eclogue, 219-20, there is a paraphrase of two lines at the close of the second Georgic, 541-42:

sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,
 et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.

In the third Eclogue, stanzas 6-14 of "Thestylis Ode"¹ are a paraphrase of a Latin poem *Iovis Elizabeth*, which may be found in Lyly's *Euphues and his England*.² One couplet may be quoted here, as a possible key to a hard saying in stanza 13 ("Venus kinned to me three waies"):

Tu soror et coniux Iuno, tu filia Pallas,
 Es quoque, quid simulem? ter mihi chara Venus.

¹ Sabie uses "Thestylis" as a man's name; but so does one of the "Uncertain Authors" in *Tottel's Miscellany* (Arber's reprint, p. 165): "Thestylis is a sely man," etc. In the second Eclogue, 253, he seems to make Perilla the wife of Ovid; but for this he had, or might have had, the definite statement of Petrus Crinitus, *De poetis latinis*, III, 46: "Minime dubium est, eundem habuisse tres uxores. . . . Successit his Perilla cuius egregiam formam atque probitatem pluribus locis extollit: neque tantum dilexit eam maxima fide et benevolentia singulari, sed in Poëtica etiam erudit magna cura excoluit. Quo factum est, ut Perilla exulanti marito aedem suam diligentissime servaverit." And after all he is probably quite as near the truth as the writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (XVIII, 84) who makes Perilla the daughter of Ovid. The "Tagus in Inde" of Ecl., II, 229, may be his own.

² Ed. Bond, II, 216-17; Arber's reprint, pp. 463-64.

[Title-page.]

PANS PIPE, THREE PASTORALL EGLOGUES, IN ENGLISH
HEXAMETER. WITH OTHER POETICAL VERSES DE-
LIGHTFULL.

*Parue nec inuideo, sine me liber ibis in arua,
Hei mihi quod domino non licet ire tuo.*

FOR THE FURTHER DELIGHT OF THE READER, THE PRINTER
HATH ANNEXED HEREUNTO THE DELECTABLE POEME
OF THE FISHER-MANS TALE.

Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the signe of the Rose
and Crowne, neere to S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595.

[Author's Preface.]

To all youthfull Gentlemen, Apprentises, fauourers of the diuine
Arte of sense-delighting Poesie.

GENTLEMEN, expect not in this my slender volume, amorous passions
of some Courtly Louer, graced (as the custom is, with super fine rethori-
call phrases: look not here for some melodious ditties, descended from
the wel-tuned strings of *Apollos* sweet-sounding Cittern: here plainly
haue I presented vnto your view rusticke *Tyterus*, rehearsing in rude
countrey tearmes to his fellow *Thirsis* his happy blisse, and luckie for-
tune in obtayning the loue of his desired *Phillida*: Or clownish *Coridon*,
one while taking and giuing quaint taunts and priuy quips of and to his
froliking Copemates: One while againe contending for superiority, in
tuning rurall ditties on *Pans* pastorall pipe. Now Gentlemen, if with
Coridon, you shall find me not to play so well as the rest of my fellowes,
my sole and humble request is, that you would not foorthwith proceed
in condigne iudgement against me, but with wise *Faustus* conceale¹ your
opinion, which doing, you shall animate, other wise altogether discourage
a yong beginner.

Yours euer in curtesie.

F. S.

¹ conceale misprinted for conceale.

AVTHOR AD LIBRVM.

V Ade liber, rus dulce subi, pete pascua læta
 alba vbi depascunt agmina mille gregum
 Te læta accipiet pecorum Benefeldia diues,
 aduenies gratus montibus ipse suis.
 Vis vbi pastorum gelidis numerosa sub vmbris
 fistula arundinea carmina læta canit,
 Ibit ouans Coridon te complexurus, Alexis
 accipiet, Thirsis te leget ore rudi.
 Laudabit doctus Dominum tibicine faustus.
 hunc hedera dignum Thestylis ore canet:
 Heu si forte via recta peregrinus aberres
 & Domino sumas orbis in vrbe locum
 Ridebit ciuis te, nescit rustica ciuis,
 rustica tu cantas, rusticus ergo legat.
 Formido nimium ne Momus itinere cernat
 mordebit dominum ferrea lingua tuum,
 Quam potes excusa, dic est herus exul, amica
 non datur huic requies, fert iuga, vade liber.

[Prologue to the first poem]

It was in the moneth of May,
 All the field now looked gay:
 Little Robin finely sang,
 with sweet notes ech greenwood rang.
 Philomene forgetfull then,
 Of her rape by Tereus done.
 In most rare and ioyfull wise,
 Sent her notes vnto the skies:
 Progne with her bloody breast,
 Gan in chimney build her neast.
 Flora made each place excell
 with fine flowers sweet in smell.
 Violets of purple hue,
 Primroses most rich in shew:
 Vnto which with speedie flight,
 Bees did flie and on them light.
 And with Thyme loding their thyes,
 Did it carie to their hiues.
 Some it tooke, which they had brought,
 And in combs it rarely wrought.
 Fish from chrystall waues did rise,
 After gnats and little flies:

- 24 Little Lambes did leape and play,
 By their Dams in Medowes gay.
 And assoone as *Lucifer*
 Had expelde the lesser starres,
Tyterus and *Thirsis* hight,
 Through a lettice-seeing light,
 Which did come from *Ecus*¹ bright,
 30 As they lay in drowsie beds,
 Vp did lift their sluggish heads:
 Hasting Sheep from fouldes to let
 Sheepe which bleated for their meate.
 Sheepe let out from place to place,
 Greedilie did plucke vp grasse.
 36 And by chance as heards did meet,
 Shepheardes did each other greete,
Thirsis looked verie sad,
 As he some ill fortune had:
Tyterus first gan to speake,
 And his mind in this sort break.²

EGLOGUE FIRST

Tyterus. Thirsis.

- Thirsis* what mean these heauy looks? thy face so besprented
 with tears, shews il news, why? thou wert wont to be mery
 Wont on a pipe to play, to grace our ioyfull assemblies,
 With merie iests and sports, tel me why art thou so pensiuie?
 5 *Th.* Ah *Tyterus, Tyterus*, how can I cease to be pensiuie?
 One o' mine ewes last night, hard fortune, died in eaning,
 One o' mine ewes, a great ew, whose fruit I chiefly did hope of,
 Eaned a tidie lambe, which she no sooner had eaned,
 But the Foxe did it eat, whilst I slept vnder a thicket:
 10 Thus haue I lost mine Ewe, my lamb the Fox thus hath eaten:
 Ah *Tyterus, Tyterus*, how can I cease to be pensiuie?
Tyt. Hard fortune neighbor, but what? wil heauiues help you?
 Wil grieffe get your sheep againe? cast care away therefore,
 Shun dolor, vse patience, patience in miserie profits:
 15 To smile is wisdom when waspish destinie thunders.
Th. Good counsell *Tyterus*, but not so easily follow'd,
 Man is borne in grieffe, and griueth at euery mishap.
 I thinke we shepheards take greatest paines of all others,

¹ *Ecus* misprinted for *Eous*.² This introductory poem is reprinted by H. Oskar Sommer, *Erster Versuch über die englische Hirtendichtung*, Marburg, 1888, pp. 55, 56.

- Sustaine greatest losses, we be tyred with daylie labour,
 20 With colde in winter, with heat in summer oppressed,
 To manie harmes our tender flockes, to manie diseases
 Our sheepe are subiect, the thiefe praies ouer our heardlings,
 And worse then the thief, the Fox praies ouer our heardlings,
 Thus we poor heardsmen are pincht and plagu'd aboue other.
- 25 *Tyt.* Truth, but I know not why, we do not only deserue it,
 But lets be content, sith Fortune hath so prouided,
 and rather heark to my tale, sith vnder this shadie valley
 Either of vs do sit, sith both our flockes be together,
 Lets now tell our ancient loues, least sleepe creepe vpon vs,
 30 And the craftie Foxe, who priuiliy lurks in a thicket,
 Or in these huge holes, our lambes should greedilie murther:
 Better is it to wake, then sleepe, what thing euer happens.
- Th.* Content, yet from my mind this grieve yet cannot I banish,
 Begin first your selfe, you first made mention of it.
- 35 *Tyt.* Wel, Ile now begin, *Venus* aid me, sweet *Venus* aide me,
 Ayd me *Cupid* once my friend, the prosperous euent
 Of my loue to rehearse. Not far from hence in a village
 Was I borne, in a merrie towne rich in shadie valleys,
 Rich in grounds, in soyle fertile, in cattell abounding:
 40 With my father I liu'd, he was calde rich *Melibeus*;
 Rich *Melibeus* was my Sire, olde *Mepsa* my mother.
 Long time single I liu'd, long time vnmarried I was:
 He would oft to me say, when shall I be called a Grandsire,
 She would oft to me say, when shall I be called a Grandam:
 45 *Flora* doth hope for thee, the lusty daughter of *Aldus*,
Ianus hopes thou shalt be to his daughter an husband:
 I despising loue, hating the name of a woman,
 Would them both desire to let me single abide still,
 For loue I did detest, I did hate a libidinous *Hymen*.
- 50 But marke how't fell out, I fed my sheepe in a pasture
 Neere to the wood, twas summer time, and I very wearie,
 Downe all alone me laid, no sooner downe had I laid me,
 But sleepe shut mine eyes, neere to this wood abode hunters,
 Hunters, who let slip at an hare, the groue she recou'ed,
 55 And got away, the dogs returnde, and ran to my cattell:
 My sheepe from them ran, great harme they did to my cattell:
 They did a Wether kil, they kild a douty good Ew-lambe.
 Vp I rose, my sheep I mist, and nought but a carcasse
 Of my Wether I sawe, the clawes and skuls of an Ewe-lambe.
- 60 Out alasse I cride, I am vndone, spoyled and vndone,
 Long time amazed I stood, one while false Destinie blaming,

- And drowsie sleep, who closd mine eies whilst merceiles hütters
 Suffered hounds my sheep to deuoure, like *Mercury* sometimes
 On's sleep-aluring pipe who plaid, while he murdered *Argus*,
 65 *Argus* set with an hundred eies: or like to the Foulter,
 Who on a whistle playes most sweetly, whilst hee deceiueth
 Foolish birds: thus standing amaz'd, my neighbour *Alexis*
 Came to me, crying out, stroken also with the same arrow,
 He made doleful mone, seuen of mine Ewes be deuoured,
 70 And the rest are strayed away, sweet *Tyterus* help me,
 Help me (saith he) to seeke them againe, I laboured also
 Of the same disease, we two went sadly together
 Through desert mountaines, large fieldes, and arable pastures,
 Seeking our chac'd heards: at length in a brierie valley,
 75 Between two forrests, some of *Amintas* his heardlings
 Found we lying downe, and seeking still for his other,
 Vnder a shade by chaunce he saw *Galatea*, he saw her,
 And burnt in her loue, poor vvretch he cried, he sighed,
 Making skies resound his sad and pittiful eechoes,
 80 And vnmindfull quite of his heardling, he wholly delighted
 In talking of her, and passing by her, I wild him
 To reiect this loue, which would bring beggery with it,
 He with a sigh gan strait exclame, O happie, thrise happy
 Should I be if when, the fates, and destinie cals me,
 85 In her lap mine head might lie, and her pretie fingers
 Might close vp my key cold eies: O wood-mightie *Syluan*,
 Keep I beseech thee all sweet hearbs, let not greedy cattell
 Plucke them vp, reserue them til my Ladie be buried:
 Then let al the ground be straw'd with sauourie blossoms,
 90 And write vpon her tomb, *Here lieth a maide, which a goddessse*
Would haue bene to her Loue, had she not bene ouer-austere,
Loug¹ thus he liu'd ie² deep despaire, al companie shunning:
And at length (poore wreth³) his daies in misery ended.
 Back againe I return'd in an other field then I sought them.
 . 95 Like one half mad I ran, I found some hard by the milledge,
 Some by the forrest side, my notted Ram stil I missed:
 Him I sent my boy to seeke, he wandered al day,
 In shady woods till night, and wearie thought to returne him,
 But twas darke, and making hast, a trench he fel into,
 100 Made to deceiue wild beasts, and could by no means get away thence,
 Thus my boy was in hold my Ram was caught in a thicket,
 Vp next morn I rose, musing where *Willie* remained,

¹ *Loug* misprinted for *Long*.² *ie* misprinted for *in*.³ *wreth* misprinted for *wretch*.

- Forth I went, twas holie-day, I asked of ech one,
 If they saw my ram, and if they saw little *Willy*,
 105 *Willy* no wher was found, I sought him through shady mountains
 Through vast caues and wood, I cride, I shouted, I hollow'd,
 But twas all in vaine, at length a stranger I met with,
 Into the pits to looke, who was new come to the forrest,
 Him did I aske also, but he saw not my little *Willie* :
 110 We two together walkt, when we came neere to the pitfall,
 Hearing vs two talke, like a mouse in a cheese he did exclame,
 Into the trench we look'd, who could not laugh to behold it,
 A Fox falne therein, did stand with *Will* in a corner:
Will did feare the Fox, the Fox did feare little *Willy*
 115 Out we pluckt him first, his fellow prisoner after.
 Glad was *Will* he was out, and I was gladder I found him,
 Home we returnde, and as we returnd, loe destiny fawning,
 Found I my Ram in a thicket tyde, I greatly reioyced:
 Summer it was, it was midday, the Sun was at highest,
 120 *Will* led home my Ram, I softly followed after,
Will went through the fields, but I went through shady pastures
 Shunning *Tilans* beams, but ah vnfortunat Heardsman,
 Shunning an outward heat, a fire I purchased inward.
 Vnder a tree, by *Damons* cloase, very many resorted,
 125 Maids and men did thither flocke, there merily piped.
Lucidas on his new bagpipe, then *Pollio* danced,
Ianus leapt and skipt, then thy young vncle *Amintas*
 Daunc'd I remember with many moe too long to repeat nowe.
 Here I staid, this crue I viewd, I spied *Alexis*
 130 Daunce with a Lasse, a gallant Lasse, me thought she did excel
 All the rest in beautie, in shape, in comelie behauour:
Phillida was her name, I thought each ioynt of her heauenly:
 Looke what parts lay hid, those I far fairer imagin'd.
 Ah, how she pleasde my mind, her cheeks wer ruddy like aples,
 135 With red streams besprent, her hair as browne as a berrie:
 Black were her eies, her hands did shew as was a good huswife,
 No want in her I saw, for where she squinted a little,
 That did grace her I thought, thus was I caught on a sudden,
 Ah, how oft I wisht my selfe in place of *Alexis*,
 140 He to dallie had learn'd, to daunce I neuer had vsed,
 And then I sham'd to begin. But marke what followed after;
Codra to daunce did come, the lusty daughter of *Aldus* :
 Her when *Alexis* espied espide,¹ he with all speed *Phillida* leauing,
 Caught her by the white hand, at this my *Phillida* frowned,

¹ *espide* erroneously repeated.

- 145 She did *Alexis* loue, but *Alexis* Codra desired:
 In sept I to her strait, I wild her not to be sorry,
 I will be thy loue (said I) care not for *Alexis*,
 I will a woing come, from me she flang in an anger,
 And with a scornfull looke, wel (saith she) some body loues me.
- 150 Home then I went dismaid, and sick, my countenance¹ heaue,
 Sotted were my sences all, my mind verie pensiue,
 One while I laid me downe, of such idle fantasies hoping,
 That sleepe would me depriue, therein was I greatly deceaued.
 No sooner had sleep closde mine eies, but *Phillida* foorthwith
- 155 Into my mind did come, still I thought she daunc'd with *Alexis*:
 Ah how my mother greeu'd, when she did see me so pensiue,
 She fetcht milke and ale, and for me she made a posset:
 She fetcht flower and eggs, and for me she made a pudding:
 But no meat would downe with me, my father as heauy,
- 160 Vnto the wise-man went, he was a physition also,
 He said I was in loue, some deuil had told it him, I think,
 Then to me forthwith he came, he charg'd me with it, he praid me
 To disclose my mind, and he would do what he could do:
 Then confest I my loue, tis (said I) *Phillida* father,
- 165 *Phillida*, *Damons* daughter it is, whose loue thus I burne in,
 Be content, my father said, her loue will I sue for,
 Well doth *Damon* know *Melibeus* chests be not emptie,
 At this I comfort tooke, rose, went int' field to my cattell,
 Both full of hope and feare. To *Damon* went *Melibeus*,
- 170 Tolde him all the tale, and for his daughter he prayed,
 I giue my consent, but I feare, quoth he *Phillida* wil not,
 She shall like and loue, for she hath very may² reiected.
 These newes brought to me as I sate alone by mine heardling:
 Sonne, saith he, go thy selfe, speake to *Phillida*, *Damon*
- 175 Will giue his good wil, if thou canst also get her loue.
 Home foorthwith I went, my self I finely bedecked,
 Comb'd mine head, I washt my face, my spruse-lether ierkin
 On did I put, my ruffes, my yellow-lether galigaskins,
 Then full of hope and feare I went, my *Phillida* spinning,
- 180 Sate by the doore, I went vnto her, I colde her, I kist her,
 Proferd her many gifts, but she refusde many profers:
 Crau'd of her, her good will, but she did flatly deny me,
 Wild me leaue my sute, and not proceed any further.
 Impatient of repulse, her three times after I wooed:
- 185 Gifts many pence me cost, three times againe she repeld me:

¹ countenance misprinted for countenance.² may misprinted for many.

- Desperate altogether then with bewitched *Amintas*,
 Into the woods I went, and merrie company leauing,
 In vncouth mountaines, in deserts and shady valleyes,
 All my delight I tooke, I neuer look'd to my cattel:
- 190 They for a pray were left to the Fox, to the wolfe to the Lyon,
 And had I not bene helpt, I should haue dy'd with *Amyntas*.
 But now Fortune smilde, with *Alexis Phillida* dayly
 Vsde to sport and play, vnto him she dayly resorted,
 She brought him conserues, she brought him sugered almonds
- 195 He not louing her, but with her flattery mooued,
 Lay with her, and in time with childe poore *Phillida* prooued:
 He then fearing least he should her marrie by constraint,
 Fled from his Vncle in hast (for he remain'd) with his vncle)
Phillida fearing least, she should be mocked of each one,
- 200 Look'd more blyth on me, as I sate vnder a Mirtle,
 She past by, me thought, and smyled vpon me,
 Her lookes fauour shewed, then againe my sute I renued,
 Went and wooed her againe, and far more tractable founde her:
 Next day to *Damons* house I went, and with me my sire,
- 205 There were cakes and ale, and each one greatlie reioyced:
 Then we were made sure, and wedding day was appointed,
 Which at length did come, the time long wisht for approached;
 We twaine were conioynd, that day we merrily passed,
 Great good cheare we made, *Licidas* and *Pollio* piped,
- 210 All th' whole countrie daunc'd: with credit thus was I wedded:
 Which when *Alexis* heard, with all speed home he returned,
 And see *Thirsis*, I pray, what a quiet wife haue I gotten,
 She yet neuer scowl'd she neuer frown'd on *Alexis*,
 But look'd mildly on him, though he so greatly abuse her,
- 215 Heele now come to my house, and sit with me by the fire,
 Heele now sit by my wife, whilst I goe looke to my cattel:
 We two be great friends, and to thee (*Thirsis*) I tel it,
 Thee for a friend I take, to my biggest boy is he father,
 But verie few do it know. A large ground now haue I plowed,
- 220 And tis more than time to vnyoke my wearied horses:
Thirsis, I haue to thee now declarde the history pleasant
 Of my loue: Rehearse yours, as you promised erewhile.
Th. Wel. I begin to declare't: O *Pan* melodious help me:
 But see neighbour I pray, *Tytan* is caried headlong
- 225 Into the sea, see, clouds covnite, a storme is a breeding:
 And pitchie-night drawes on apace, lets hastily therefore,
 Deuide our cattell, to the cotes lets speedily driue them.
Tyt. Let's run apace, til again we meet you shal be my debter.

[Prologue to the second poem]

- Glomie Winter raig'n'd as King,
 Hoarie frost did nip each thing:
 Fields look'd naked now and bare,
 4 Fields which like a Chaos were.
 Earth of grasse was now quite voyde
Boreas each thing destroyd.
 Leauelesse trees seem'd to lament,
 8 Chirping birdes were discontent:
 Seeking food in vncouth lanes,
 Where they caught their fatall banes.
Philomene did now recant
 12 Wofully sharp winters want:
Progne fled to place vnkowne,
 Somewhere making doleful mone.
Tereus pinch't with want did crie,
 16 Iustly plagu'd for villany,
 Fish in deepe themselues did hide,
 Daring not in foordes abide:
 Cattel bleated for their meat.
 20 Cattell found no foo'de to eate.
Titan had his head lift vp,
 Lulde a sleepe in *Thetis* lap.
 When two Swaines were newly gone.
 24 *Melibeus* and *Damon*,
 Hungrie flocks to let from folde,
 Flockes half staru'd with want and colde.
 Heardes had eaten mornings baite,
 28 Shepheards met together strait.
Melibeus, men report,
 Spake to *Damon* in this sort.

EGLOGUE SECOND

Damon. Melibeus.

- Goodmorrow *Damon*. Da. Goodmorrow good *Melibeus*.
 What? your comely daughter, whose loue so many desired
 Is now wedded I heare to a Citizen, is she so dainty,
 That none but Citizens will please her? or are ye so wealthie,
 5 That you scorne vs Heardes, your mates and fellows? I fear me,
 Once before she die, sheell wish she had wedded an heardsman.
Mel. Peace *Damon*, content your self, first heare the defendant,
 Ere you giue iudgement, lets sit down friendly together

- On this sunny¹ bank, whilst *Tytans* fiery glances
 10 Warm our limbs, and melt hory snowes, Ile tel the beginning
 And end of their loue, end, midst, and originall of it.
 When my girle was young, to *Cupids* fiery weapons
 And not yet subiect, then had my neighbour *Alexis*,
 A little sonne, both borne in a day, th' one loued ech other:
 15 As brother and sister, as twaine of one issue begotten:
 And as children vse, they two would dallie together,
 Sport & play, both went to the school, as years came upon thē:
 So their loue encrease, years made this amitie greater:
 Age made loue increase, and stil my neighbour *Alexis*
 20 (As most men are woont) esteeming worst of his owne arte,
 Set his sonne to the schoole, to scooles² of *Apollo*:
 Wholly in ioy he liu'd, what sportes, the cuntrey did affoord,
 What playes, what pastimes, those he vsde, al labor abhorring,
 Time brought choise of sports, each quarter sundry pleasures:
 25 In spring time when fields are greene, when euery bramble
 Looketh fresh, when euery bush with melodie soundeth,
 Of little birds rising, before bright *Tytan* appeared,
 Into the fieldes did he goe, which then faire *Flora* bedecked,
 With redolent blossoms, O how grateful to the senses
 30 Were th' odoriferous smels which when *Aurora* to *Phabus*³
 Gan to ope her gates, the fragrant flowers afforded,
 O how to heare did he ioy the musicall harmony, which then
 Each little bird did make. He would go then with a spud staffe
 Vnto the leaue vwoods, the dens where Connies had hidden
 35 Their yong ones to seeke, to find yong birds he delighted:
 Greatly now did he ioy, the lightfooted hare to run after:
 With many yelping hounds, the swift-foot Deere by the forrest,
 To pursue with dogs, with an hauke to encounter a partridge:
 At this time the top, the tennis ball was a pastime:
 40 At this time no smal delight he toke in a foteball:
 When Lodie⁴ *Ver* had run her race, and *Phebus* ascending
 Vnto the highest, began to scorch vvith fiery glances
Floras fruites, and *Vers* gay giftes, when Rie with a sickle
 Down to be cut began, and emptie barnes to be filled.
 45 Then to the Chrystall lake and siluer riuer of *Alphus*
 Vsde he to goe (Good Lord) how greatly to bath him he ioyed
 In his running stream, what pleasure companie meeting,
 Took he to sport on's reedy banks: somtimes with an angle,
 And false shew of a bait glittering fish craftilie taken:

¹ sunny misprinted for sunny.³ Phabus misprinted for Phebus.² scooles misprinted for schooles.⁴ Lodie misprinted for Ladie.

- 50 Wold he twitch frō his waues, with nets oft times he deceu'd them;
 Now by the mountaines high, and forrests leauy to gather
 Strawberies and Damasens no smal delight did he count it.
 But vvhy recite I to thee these sports, thou these mery pastimes
 Knowst wel ynough, thou knowst what ioies the cuntry yeldeth.
- 55 *Wnter*¹ & *autum* brought not a few ripe apples in *autum*
 Peares and nuts to gather he vsde, all which he reserued,
 Winters want to releue. When gloomie Winter appeared,
 When hoarie frosts did each thing nip, vvhen Isacles hanged
 on ech house, with milk-white snows whē th' earth was al hiddē
- 60 Forth vvith a fouler he vvas, to the vvellsprings & to the fountains
 & to the running lakes, vvwhose euer mooueable vvaters
 Frost neuer alter could, there for the long-billed hernshue,
 And little Snype did he set snares, vvith tvvigs craftily limed,
 Pitfals novv for birds did he make, the musical Ovvsle,
- 65 The little Robbin and the Thrush now greatlie bewayling,
 winters want with doleful tunes did he strike with a stone-bow.
 Cardes and dice brought now great sport, sitting by the fire,
 Bowles full of ale to quaffe off, ripe peares and mellowed apples
 To deuour, to cracke small nuts, now he counted a pleasure.
- 70 But what need many words, least ouer tedious I should
 Vnto thee bee, many playes, and pastimes here I will omit:
 I will omit his gun, I will not speak of his hand-bow:
 Which with a twanging string, he so many times hath bended
 But to be briefe, his life, his greatest toyle was a pleasure.
- 75 And might I speake as I thinke, I would say boldly that he liu'd
 More in ioy than Gods, sprong of celestiall issue.
 But Fate is peruerse, Fortune a friend to none alwaies:
 This merie life of the gods, the country gods which inhabit
 Earthly seats did note, (for to them *Ioue* in *Olympus*,
- 80 Yet vouchsafes not a place) they saw't and murmured at it,
 Each one did complaine that he so merilie liued:
 Each one did complaine that he them neuer adored.
 Not far from thence in a wood, in a vast and briery forrest,
 There is a famous groue, with Oaks and pine trees abounding
- 85 which neuet² axe hath tucht, whose tops the clouds cut asunder
 These no star could pearce, no sun-beam could euer enter:
 Heere nere came *Boreas*, heere nere came fiery *Tytan*.
 Temperature here alwayes abides, the temperate aire
 Causeth a dayly spring, here blossoms dayly do flourish:
- 90 Hearbs are green, which a lake, & chrystal stream by the forrest:

¹ *Wnter* misprinted for *Winter*.² *neuēt* misprinted for *neuer*.

- With myld-sliding¹ waues doth nourish with liquid humor,
 In midst of this groue the mild Creatresse of all things;
 Hath by woondrous arte a stately pallace erected:
 And from craggie rockes, great seats hath wisely created:
 95 God *Sylmanus*² his haule, it need no carued vpholders,
 Nor stately pillers to vnderprop, his gorgious hanging
 Nought but heauen ouerhangs, *Atlas* himselfe doth vphold it.
 Hither al the Gods, hither al the progeny rurall
 In came, each tooke a seat, each sate by *Syluan* in order,
 100 At the higher end of the haule in a chair with gems very costly
 With leauy wreaths on his head sat great *Syluanus* adorned.
 Next sate rusticke *Pan*, next him sate beautiful *Alphus*.
Alphus a riuier-god, next him God *Bacchus*, all hanged
 with red-streamed grapes, next him Lady *Ceres* arrayed
 105 With eary wreaths of wheat: next her dame *Flora* bedecked
 With sweet-smelling hearbes: then sat nymphs, Fayries & half-gods
Syluans, Satyrs, Fauns, with al the rustical ofspring,
 Now giuing statutes, now rebels sharply reforming:
 And checking sinners, at length they found them agreeued
 110 With sweet *Alexis* son, that he them neuer adored,
 Despise their Deities, their gifts that he dayly abused:
 Foorthwith each god agreed to banish him from his empire,
 And kingdome for a time. Saith great *Syluanus*, he neuer
 Til seuen yeares be past, my fragrant empire hereafter,
 115 Shall by my leaue sport in, thus am I fully resolued
 Neither saith God *Pan*, my realmes and flourishing empire
 Where many flocks do feed, til seuen years fully be passed:
 Shal he come in by my leaue, thus am I fully resolued.
 I banish him also fro my banks so redy, saith *Alphus*,
 120 And I (saith *Bacchus*) fro my faire and beautiful Orchards.
 And I (saith *Ceres*) fro my fields and corn-bearing empire:
 And ful this seuen yeare shall he be (saith *Flora*) depriued
 Of freedome, and shal beare the seruile yoke of a maister,
 And dearly shall he smart for these his wanton abuses.
 125 This the gods decreed, thus firmly was it enacted:
 And a day was set. They now inspired *Alexis*,
 And moued him to send his son, his sonne little *Faustus*,
 Vnto the cittie to learne a trade, this he fully beleueed,
 Was done for his good. Th' appointed time now approached,
 130 Now the day was at hand, good Lord what pittifull howling,
 Made that house, when he did depart, his father *Alexis*,

¹ There seems to be a trace of this hyphen.

² *Sylmanus* misprinted for *Syluanus*.

Now gan sad looke, and at this his heauy departure,
These most woful words with an hart most sorowful vttered.

- Thy dayes greene blossoms, thy yeeres yong plants do resemble,
135 but my time imitates Swans white and hoary feathers,
To labor and take pains, thy years do wil thee, my white haire
forewarne that death is readie to strike daylie:
Now therfore, O my son, these words I charge thee remember,
Which to thee thy father, so duty binds me speaketh,
140 Like litle Bees fro their hiues now must thou bee banished of Bees
and ants learn, they wil teach thee, my son, to labour:
They will teach thee to worke, lo the Bee, she gathereth honey,
and th' Ant come, winters pennurie wisely fearing.
So must thou take paines, whilst time wil let thee, for old age
145 thy body, though now strong, wil very quickly weaken,
A raynie day wil come, crooked age wil (I say) creep vpon thee
enemies vnto worke, enemies vnto profit.
A trade thou must learne, now must thou dwell in a cittie,
which hath both vertues, and manie vices in it:
150 These thou must eschew, these must thou greedilie follow,
these bring perdition, those credit and great honour:
But first thy maker see that thou serue aboute all things,
serue him, he made thee, loue him, he will thee gouerne:
Be loyall and gentle, to thy maister trustie, thy duty
155 so requires, be to al affable, lowly, louing:
And marke this one thing, detest euil companie chieflie:
for it wil doubtlesse lead thee to follie: shun it.
Shun womens faire lookes, *Venus* is faire but to be shunned:
Shees hurtfull, of her flatery see thou take heed:
160 As to the net with a call smal birds are craftily allured,
with false shew of a baite, as little fish be taken:
Euen so womens looks entrap young nouices oft times,
see thou beware, they be naught, flie thē I warn thee, fly them
To know mens desire, medle not, but speak wel of each one,
165 so shalt thou get fame, and loue of all thy neighbours:
Shun playes and theaters, go to sermons, here many vices:
there thou shalt learne to magnifie God thy maker.
Both mony and counsell I thee giue, set more by my counsel,
Than mony, thou shalt be rich ynough if thou do thus:
170 More precious it is then gems which *Tagus* affoordeth,
then golden fleeces which *Phasis* Ile hap in it.
So fare well my sonne, God blesse and keep thee, remember
these things, and God wil surely preserue thee, Farewell.

- This once said, he shed many teares, his mother as heany,¹
 175 Shreeking out, did bid him adue, my daughter *Alinda*
 Seemed half mad with grief, she skies with dollorous ecchoes
 Made to resound, amōg many words, these sadly pronouncing
 I will with thee goe, I wil be banished also,
 Ile take also part of thine hard destiny, *Faustus*,
 180 But now must he depart, time vrg'd his heavy departure:
 Now needs must he go hence, farewell to the watery riuers,
 Farwel he said to the fields, to the woods, & greenleaued² forrest
 And to the town whō he thought surely he shuld neueragain² see
 Now was he gone quite away, and at length came to the cittie,
 185 Where great god *Thamasis*, with an huge & horrible murmur
 Guideth his vncoth waues, here was the place where he rested,
 Here was he forste to abide the seruile yoke of a master,
 Here what euils he abode, what miserie sufferd, I need not
 Tel thee: needlesse twas to tel thee't *Damon*, imagine
 190 That many griefes he abode, much toyle and slauery sufferd,
 Many reproches he bore, oft times my daughter *Alinda*
 Sent priuie gifts vnto him, he greeted her oft with a token,
 & which was most rare, their loue which whē they wer infants
 First began, neither ire of Gods, time an eater of all things,
 195 Nor proud waspish Fate, able was any whit to diminish,
 But the more fate, fretting time, and gods cruel anger
 Sought by threatning force, the same to cancell or alter,
 More greater it did waxe, she sent, I remember a napkin
 With needle wrought vnto him, wherein this posie she feined,
 200 *Though time fret, gods chafe, and peruerse destinie thunder,*
her mind yet neuer shall thine Alinda varie.
 This gift he receiu'd, and opportunity chauncing
 a thing to him rare, this wofull letter he framed,

FAUSTUS TO HIS LOYALL ALINDA.

- Faustus, infaustus*, forsaken, banished, exile,
 205 in these sad writings, sendeth *Alinda* greeting.
 Sooner my dear-loue each starre which shines in Olympus,
 each litle sand maist thou count by the watery sea-shore:
 Each bird which flyeth, each leafe in woods shady growing,
 each scaled fish which swims in a frothy riuier,
 210 Then halfe the miseries which thy poore *Faustus* abideth:
 Ah, but I feare too much, least thou be grieved at it.

¹ *heany* misprinted for *heavy*.² The lack of a hyphen in *greenleaued*, and of the spacing of *neueragain* is due to the want of space for the line.

- What ioy? what comfort haue I wretch? tis all in *Alinda*:
 Oh but that name oft much dolour also causeth:
 No sooner its named, but ioy of sence me depriueth,
 215 no sooner its named, but teares fro mine eies doe trickle.
 Ioy in that thou standst in such aduersitie stedfast,
 tears in that from thee, destinie me so withholds,
 But yet though fate frown, though gods pursue me with anger
 though Fortune plague me, penurie pinch me dayly:
 220 Greeue not *Alinda* for it, when I was exiled, imagine
 then that I died, I say, greeue not *Alinda* for it:
 And if in hope thou liu'st, say dearh¹ shal neuer hereafter
 take fro me a second loue, still will I liue a widow,
 And it may fall out, gods taking pittie, that once I
 225 shal to both our contents vnto thee safelie returne:
 Then what thing mortall, what thing celestiall each where,
 shal ioyful *Faustus* from his *Alinda* detain it:
 Not golden apples, which rich *Hesperia* yeeldeth,
 not little gems wherewith *Tagus* in *Inde* floweth,
 230 How many mo miseries, poore wretch, how many *Caribdis*,
 hoping to inioy thee, would I not easily go through.
 Be stable and constant, whatsoeuer destinies happen,
 thy *Faustus* wil stand, be stil *Alinda* stable:
 No gem I send thee, yet a costlie iewell I send thee,
 235 that which I want my selfe, farewel I send thee my Loue,

This to my daughter he sent, and opportunitie fitting,
 She this epistle framed, and to him priuilie sent it.

- Know'st thou my *Faustus*, by the superscription, or seale
 who to thee this dolefull and heauy dittie frameth:
 240 Tis thine *Alinda* my loue, which in this dittie saluteth
 her *Faustus*, whose griefes are to thy sorrowes equal.
 But feare not *Faustus*, liue in hope, *Ioue* doth not all times
 thunder, delay wil gods cruel anger abate:
 In time the Lyon his fierce seuerity leaueth,
 245 soft drops of water mollifie craggie pibbles:
 In time the heifer to the yoke is easily reduced:
 the stiffe-neck'd colt doth yeeld to the rusty bridle:
 Then feare not *Faustus*, liue in hope, frost doth not at al times
 each thing nip, time wil gods cruel anger asswage.
 250 The troian Captain, *Venus* offspring, faithles *Eneas*,
 in time outwore th'ire of great and angry *Iuno*.

¹ dearh misprinted for death.

- Ile be *Penelope*, be thou my royal *Vlysses*,
 Ile be *Perilla*, be thou my trustie *Naso*.
 And be most certaine, my mind I wil neuer alter
 255 my fate whoseuer, *Destinie* please to varie
 But fire and water, cold, heat, loue and enuie, desire
 and hate shall first and sooner agree together.
 Stream-haunting fishes forsake their waterie channels,
 and in greene pastures, and shadie medowes abide
 260 Earth shal beare starres, heauen shal be cleft with a coultter,
 then any but *Faustus* shal his *Alinda* couet.
Faustus adue, to the gods, thy trustie and faithfull *Alinda*,
 for thy safe returne prayes dailie, *Faustus* adue.
 This he receiud, and now the griefes and sorrowes he suffred,
 265 though greater and manie mo, yet now far lesser he deemed.

- Time now past on apace, hope was their anchor & hauen,
 And though great distance of space detaind them asunder:
 Oft times in letters yet they twaine priuillie talked:
 And last month his time was spent: to his father *Alexis*
 270 And to his friends he returnde, oh how my daughter *Alinda*
 Ioy'd at this, amongst friends, as his heauie departure,
 Each thing seem'd to lament, so each thing ioy'd his arriual.
 Now pray thee tel me *Damon*, who now so sharply reprouedst
 Should I remooue her loue, who was more trustie to *Faustus*,
 275 Then was *Penelope* the loyal wife of *Vlysses*.
Da. O rare fidelitie, O faith immooueable, worthy,
 Worthy to be rehearst to all posterities after:
 Shouldst thou remooue their loue, I tel the friend *Melibeus*,
 If thou shouldst, thou hadst deseru'd with *Tantalus* endlesse
 280 Paines to receiue. But loe, the withered grasse is all hidden
 With hoarie snowes, our sheep want meat. *Mel.* Let's hastilie
 therefore
 Go fetch them fodder, which bleat so greddie for it.

[Prologue to the third poem]

- Winter now wore away cold with his hoary frosts,
 And now sharp *Boreas* was made a prisoner:
 Now brought in Ladie *Ver* smels odoriferous,
 And with blasts verie calme *Zephirus* entred,
 5 Each bird sent merrily musicall harmonie:
 The Cuckow flew abroad with an ode vniforme,
 This time euerie thing merily welcomed,
 Swains with their silly truls sat by their heards feeding,

- One while telling of ancient histories,
 10 Now playing on a pipe rusticall harmony,
 And the ruddie Goddesses, her manie colloured
 Gates had scarce on a time to *Titan* opened,
 When three Swaines *Coridon*, *Thestilis*, and *Damon*,
 Hauing new fro the fieldes, their greedy flockes let out,
 15 Met by chance on a time vnder a shady tree,
 And who neere to the tree stood with his heard alone,
Faustus an aged man, master of harmony,
 These three mates when he saw speedilie came to them.
 Vp then rose *Coridon*, *Thestilis* and *Damon*,
 20 And prayd this aged heard to sit vpon a turfe.
 He sate, they sate againe, *Thestilis* and *Damon*,
 And clownish *Coridon*, each held a pipe in hand,
 Th' old man left at home his musical instrument
 And he much reuerenc'd for his age of the rest,
 First of all merily spake to the companie.

EGLOGUE THIRD

Faustus. Coridon, Thestilis, Damon.

- What great thanks, neighbors, to the gods celestially owe we
 which such goodly weather haue sent for our ewes that haue eaned
 Se neighbors ech one, how finely *Aurora* saluteth
 Her louing *Tytan*, how pale and ruddy she looketh,
 5 Our weaklings doubtlesse this day wil mightily strengthen.
Co. O, tis a fine weather, a trim batling time for our heardlings,
 And lesse I be deceiu'd, this day will prooue verie faire too,
 What great thanks therefore to the gods celestially owe we?
Fa. Yea, *Coridon* for many mo things we be greatly beholding
 10 Vnto the gods, I my self haue seen a time when as heardsmen
 Could not vse their pipes, could not as we do together
 Sit thus far fro the flocks, the Wolfe which priuily lurked
 In these woods, the Beare which craftily croucht in a thicket,
 Both sheep and heards wold thē deuour, yea oft frō our herdlings
 15 We by force were pluckt, & wretches vrg'd to be souldiers,
 Seldom now doth a Wolfe, the beare exilde fro the mountains,
 Doth neuer hurt our flocks, the gates of peaceable *Ianus*
 Be now barred fast, we need not feare to be souldiers,
 Nor feare souldiers force, we may now merrily pipe here.
 20 *Co.* *Faustus* tels vs troth, my sire and grand-sire oft times
 Told me the same, with many mo things, more mercy the gods shew
Pan doth fauor his herds, we may nowe merily pipe here.

Th. Yea Coridon thou maist securely kisse *Galatea*,
Vnder a shade, yea and more than that, if no body see thee.

25 *Co.* My *Galatea* no doubt, before your withered *Alice*
Shal be preferd, she lookes like an olde witch scortch'd in a kil-house.

Da. Wel *Coridon*, boast not too much of your *Galatea*,
Shortly your ewes wil (I fear) take you for a Ram, not a keeper.

Th. No, *Coridons* sweet pipe, which such braue melody maketh
30 Nill on's head suffer *Acteons* hornes to be ioyned.

Co. Ich wil pipe with you *Damon* or *Thestylis* either,
And let *Faustus* iudge whose pipe best harmony sendeth.

Fa. These reprochfull tearms should not be rehearsed among you,
You should not haue told him of his wife *Galatea* :

35 You should not haue told him of the deformity of his wife,
But let these things passe, *Coridon* euen now made a challenge
Wil ye with him contend, I wil giue reasonable iudgement.

Both. We be agreed. *Fa.* Begin *Coridon*, you first made a
challenge.

CORIDONS SONET.

Cupid took wings, and through the felde did flie,
40 A bow in hand, and quiuer at his backe:
And by chance proud *Aminas* did espie,
As all alone he sate by his flocke.

This sillie swain so statlie minded was,
All other heards he thought he did surpasse.

45 He hated Loue, he hated sweet desire,
Equall to him no wight he esteemed:
Manie a Lasse on him were set on fire,
Worthy of his loue, yet none he deemed.

50 Out from his sheath he pluckt a leaden dart,
Wherewith he smote the swain vpon the hart.

Forthwith he rose, and went a little by,
Leauing his heard, for so wold *Cupid* haue:
Faire *Galatea* then he did espie,
Vnder a shade with garland verie braue.

55 Straitwaies he lou'd, and burn'd in her desire,
No ease he found, the wag had made a fire.

He sigh'd, he burn'd, and fryed in this flame,
Yet sillie wretch, her loue he neuer sought,
But pinde away, because he did disdaine,

60 *Cupid* him stroke with that vn lucky shaft.
Long time he liu'd thus pining in dispair,
Til's life at length flew into th'open aire.

- Cupid* abroad through shadie fieldes did flie,
 Now hauing stroke proud *Amintas* with his shaft:
 65 Poore *Coridon* by chance he passed by,
 As by his heard he sate of ioy bereft.

Sicke, very sick was this lowly swain,
 Many that he lik'd, all did him disdaine.

- Cupid* him saw, and pittied him foorthwith,
 70 Chose out a dart among a thousand moe:
 Than which a luckier was not in his sheath,
 Wherewith he gaue the swaine a mightie blow.
 Strait rising vp, *Galatea* he espide,
 Foorthwith he lou'd, and in desier fride.

- 75 Ah how she pleasde, pale and red was her face,
 Rose cheek'd as *Aurora* you haue seene:
 A wreath of flowers her seemly head did grace,
 Like *Flora* faire, of shepheards she was Queene.
 He passed by, and deemed that she laugh
 80 Her verie lookes did fauour shew, he thought.

- Therefore in hast with rude and homelie tearmes,
 He did her woo, her hoping to obtaine:
 First she denide, at length she did affirme,
 She would him loue, she could him not disdaine.
 85 Thus di'd *Amintas* because he was so coy,
 Poore *Coridon* his loue did thus inioy.

Fa. Wel, *Coridon* hath done, lets heare your melody *Damon*.

Da. Help me my chearful Muse, O *Pan* melodious helpe me,
 And wise *Apollo* to tune the stately progeny of heardsmen.

DAMONS DITTIE.

- 90 When *Ioue* first broken had the Chaos ancient,
 And things at variance had set at vnity:
 When first each element, fire, aire, and water,
 And earth vnmooueable were placed as you see:
 A plow-man then he made, he made a sheep-feeder,
 95 The plow-man he made of stonie progenie,
 Rebelling to the plough, like to the flinty field,
 Hard-hearted, full of hate: The noble sheepfeeder
 He made of a milde and lowlie progenie,
 Gentle and very meeke, like a sheep innocent,
 100 Oft times he to the Gods sacrifice offered,
 One while he gaue a Lambe, one while a tidy calfe

- Since that time sillie swaines and noble sheepfeeders
 Haue bene much visited and loued of the gods.
 Go to my merie Muse, sound out vpon a pipe
- 105 Shepherds antiquities, and noble progenie.
 A shepherd was *Abram*, *Lot* was a sheep-keeper,
 Great Angels, from aboue came many times to these,
 Yea *Ioue* omniregent leauing his heauenly seat
 Talkt with thē, men affirm, as they sate by their heards
- 110 Of them sprung valiant and noble nations,
 Go to my merie muse, sound out vpon a pipe,
 Heardsmens antiquitie, and noble progenie,
Paris sate with his flocke, in *Ida* redolent,
 When he was made a Iudge to *Venus* and *Iuno*,
- 115 And *Pallas* beautiful three mighty goddesses.
 Go to my merie muse, sound out vpon a pipe
 Heardsmens antiquity and noble progenie.
David sate with his heard, when as a Lyon huge
 And eke a Beare he slew, this little pretie swaine
- 120 Kild a victorious and mightie champion,
 Whose words did make a king & al his host to feare
 And he ful many yeares raig'n'd ouer Israell.
 Go to my merie Muse, sound out vpon a pipe,
 Heardsmens antiquitie, and noble progenie.
- 125 *Moses* fed sillie sheep, when like a fiery flame
Iehouah called him out from a bramble bush,
 O what great monuments and mightie miracles
 In *Egypt* did he shew, and to king *Pharao*.
Iordans waues backe he driue, *Iordan* obeyed him.
- 130 Go to my merie muse, sound out vpon a pipe,
 Heardsmens antiquitie, and noble progenie.
 Angels brought (men afirm) to busie sheepfeeders,
 In fields of *Bethlehem* newes of a Sauour,
 Before Magicians and noble Emperours,
- 135 Th'infant laid in a crib, *Ioues* mightie progenie,
 Mankinds ioy, life, and health cuntrie swains viewed:
 Cease now my mery Mnse¹ to tune vpon a pipe
 Heardsmens antiquity² and noble progenie.
- Fa.* Damons dittie is done, begin you *Thestylis* also,
 140 *Th.* Aide me, my pleasant muse, O *Pan* god musicall aid me.

¹ Mnse misprinted for Muse.

² Antiquity misprinted for antiquitie.

THESTILIS ODE.

A Stately scepter in a soyle most famous,
Where siluer streaming *Thamasis* resoundeth,
A Princesse beareth, who with euerduring
vertues aboundeth.

- 145 ¶ With this pipe in her land, O muse, a famous
Dittie recite thou: she deserues a Dittie:
Her praises echoes do resound, and tel through
euerie cittie.

- ¶ Nymphs from strange countries, water-haunting Naydes
150 Leaue their faire habits, to behold her honour:
We swaines thinke our selues to be blest, if we can
but looke vpon her.

- ¶ In her land nymphs by *Helicons* fair fountaines,
Make odes: on Citterne her *Appollo* ceaseth
155 Not to extoll, *Pans* pipe by the shady mountaines,
Her daylie prayseth.

- ¶ Abroad once walking with a traine like *Phebe*,
They say that *Tytan* stood as one amazed,
And as when faire *Lencothoe*¹ hee viewed
160 on her he gazed.

¶ Then also *Iuno*, *Venus* and *Minerua*,
Seeing her walking with a troupe so statelie,
Each did her chalenge, she by right is mine, saith
each noble Ladie.

- 165 ¶ She's mine, quoth *Iuno*, she's a Queene most royal,
She's mine (quoth *Pallas*) sh'ath a wit notable:
She's mine, quoth *Venus*, *Paris* her wil giue me,
She's amiable.

- ¶ *Pallas* at this chaft, *Iuno* fretted and sware,
170 In heauen proud *Paris* shal a iudge be no more,
He loues faire *Hellen*, which he loues, he therefore
beautie will adore.

- ¶ At which wordes Rose-cheek'd *Citherea* smiled,
Her face besprenting with a sanguine colour:
175 Then let *Ioue* saith she, be the iudge, thine husband,
and noble brother.

- ¶ With al speed therfore, to the skies thē they posted
And to *Ioues* chrystal seat in heauen approaching:
Thus spake great *Iuno* to the mighty Lord and
180 maker of each thing.

¹ *Lencothoe* misprinted for *Leucothoe*.

¶O *Ioue*, for doubtles many times thou hast view'd
Albions Princesses, sweet *Eliza*, we three
 Contend whose monarch she may be, she's thou know'st
 wise, noble, comlie.

185 ¶ *Iupiter* hereat was amased and said,
To iudge this matter is a thing not easie,
But yet needs must it be resolued, or ye will
Fall out I feare me.

¶ My sister *Iuno*, thou my daughter *Pallas*,
190 And *Venus* kinned to me three waies,
She's not thine *Pallas*, *Iuno* she's not thine, nor
thine *Citherea*.

¶ But *Iuno, Pallas, Venus* and each goddesse
hath her in different,¹ ye do claime her vainly.

195 This is my iudgment, sweet *Eliza*, Ladies,
shall be mine onlie.

O what great and huge miracles Iehouah
Aiding, she hath wrought here, many yeares which prest vs,
From Romish *Pharaohs* tyrannous bondage, she
safely releas'd vs.

¶ Since that bright day-star shady night expelling,
Which hath brought day-light ouer all this Iland:
That *Moses* which her people through the sea led,
As by the drie land.

205 ¶ From craggie mountaines water hath she made
With *manna, nectar*, manie yeares she fed vs:
Thus hath she long time, noble *Ioue* assisting,
mightily led vs.

¶ O from what *Scillas* she preserv'd hath
From spanish armies Ioue hath her protected,

210 Thy force O Romish Prelate, and wiles hath she
wiselie detected.

¶ Her realme in quiet many yeares she ruled
Her subiectes saftie verie much regarding,
Punishing rebels, she reformeth vices,

215 Vertue rewarding.

¶ The plow-man may now reap his haruest in ioy,
Each man may boldly lead a quiet life here
We shepheards may sit with our heard in field, and
merilie pipe here.

¹in different misprinted for indifferent.

- 220 ¶ A Phoenix rare she is on earth amongst vs,
 A mother vs her people she doth nourish
 Let vs all therefore, with one heart, pray *Ioue* that
 long she may flourish.

FAustus, our Odes are done, you must giue reasonable iudgment,

- 225 But speake as you think: who made best harmony, *Faustus*?

Fa. Ye haue pip'd all well, and I think, had sacred *Apollo*
 Heard you, he would haue praisde your tunes melodious also:
 But which of you made best harmonie, for me to tell you,
 Were but a needlesse thing, t'would breed but brauling among you

- 230 Thē let this suffice, you haue al three pip'd very wel now

Co. Wel then I see you feare to offend this company *Faustus*,
 Had *Coridon* pip'd worst, *Coridon* should heare it I know wel.

Fa. Nay not so, but I loue to shun contention, I would
 Haue you agree, for if I should *Thestilis* harmony commend,

- 235 You would at it chafe, and *Damon* also, so should I
 Get me surely two foes, but rather harke to my counsell,
 Lets to breakfast go, and lets drinke friendlie together,
 So this strife wil end, very bad is hatred amongst vs
Co. I am agreed. *Th.* And I. *Da.* And I will not say against it.

Parcite Pierides, inueni concedite vestro
non Valet ad varios vnus arator agros:
Musa vale, inueniq; faue, dominoq; placere,
& tibi, non valeo, Musa iocosa vale.

FINIS

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CHAUCERIANA

I. THE BOOK OF THE DUCHESS AND GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

The subjoined passages in parallel columns show that Chaucer, in his *Book of the Duchess*, made considerable use of *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne* by Guillaume de Machant.¹ In a good many lines the resemblance amounts to a close translation.

It seems likely—since we find Chaucer using Machaut's poem for so many details—that the plan of the *Book of the Duchess* likewise owes something to Machaut. The scheme of *Le Jugement* is briefly as follows:

On a fine morning in spring, the poet wanders out into a park where there is many a tree and many a blossom. He sits down by a brook, near a beautiful tower, concealing himself under the trees, to hear the birds sing. A lady approaches, accompanied only by a maid and a little dog. She is met by a knight, who greets her politely, but she passes on, without heeding. The knight overtakes her, and addresses her once more. She apologizes for her inattention, remarking that she was buried in thought. They exchange courtesies, and the knight begs to know the cause of her pensive mood, promising to do his best to comfort her. He himself, he avers, is suffering from bitter grief. The lady consents, on condition that the knight will reveal the origin of his own sorrow. Accordingly, they exchange confidences, in the hearing of the poet, whose presence remains unsuspected.

The lady, it appears, has lost her lover by death. The knight's *amie*, on the contrary, is living, but has forsaken him. They dispute amicably as to which case is the harder. William reveals himself, and, at his suggestion, the question is submitted to Jean de Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, who decides that the knight has the best of the argument.

Chaucer's meeting with the Knight in Black is reminiscent of the meeting of the Knight and the Lady in Machaut. Details of the conversation are imitated with some closeness.

¹ *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, publiées par Ernest Höpffner, Société des anciens textes français, I (1908), 57-135.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|--|----|
| I wente and stood right at his fete | 502 | Mais quant amis, | 56 |
| And grette him, but he spak noght, | | Fu aprochiez de la dame de pris, . . . | 58 |
| But argued with his owne thoght. | 504 | La salua. | 60 |
| | | Et la dame, que pensée argua, | |
| | | Sans riens respondre a li, le trespassa. | 62 |

In both poems there are apologies for the unintentional discourtesy:

| | | | |
|---|-----|--|-----|
| He sayde, "I prey thee, be not wrooth, | 519 | "Certes, sire, pas ne vous entendi | 70 |
| I herde thee not, to sayn the sooth, | | Pour mon penser qui le me deffendi; | |
| Ne I saw thee not, sir, trewely." | 521 | Mais se j'ay fait | |
| | | Riens ou il ait villennie ou meffait, | |
| | | Vuelliez le moy pardonner, s'il vous plait." | 74 |
| "Me thinketh in gret sorwe I you | 547 | "Triste vous voy. | 88 |
| ^{see:} | | Mais je vous jur et promet par ma foy. | |
| But certes, sire, yif that ye | | S'a moy volez descouvrir vostre anoy, | |
| Wolde ought discure me your wo, | | Que je feray tout le pooir de moy | |
| I wolde, as wis god helpe me so, | | De l'adrecier." | 92 |
| Amende it, yif I can or may." | 550 | | |
| "Graunt mercy, goode frend," quod he, | 560 | Et la dame l'en prist a mercier, | 93 |
| "I thanke thee that thou woldest so, | | Et dist, "Sire, nuls ne m'en puet aidier. | |
| But it may never the rather be do. | | Ne nuls fors Dieus ne porroit alegier | |
| No man may my sorwe glade | | La grief dolour | |
| That maketh my hewe to falle and fade." | 564 | Qui fait palir et teindre ma colour." | 97 |
| | | | |
| 'The pure deeth is so my fo, | 583 | "(La mort) Qui a grant tort | 196 |
| I wolde deye, hit wolde not so." | 584 | Par devers moy, quant elle ne s'amort | |
| | | A moy mordre de son dolereus mort." | 198 |

Vss. 599-616 in Chaucer resemble vss. 177-87 in Machaut, but the resemblance need not be pressed. We may continue with really significant parallels.

| | | | |
|--|-----|--|------|
| "So turneth she [Fortune] hir false whel | 643 | "Et n'est estable, | 1072 |
| Aboute, for it is no-thing stable, | | Eins est toudis changant et variable, | |
| Now by the fyre, now at table." | 645 | Puis ci, puis la, or au feu, a la table." | 1074 |
| | | | |
| "Good sir, tel me al hoolly." | 746 | "Dites le moy." | 251 |
| | | | |
| "Blythly," quod he, "com sit adoun; | 749 | "Moult volentiers, mais que vous m'escoutez, | 253 |
| I telle thee up condicioun | | Et que vo cuer de tristesse gettez, | |
| That thou hoolly, with al thy wit, | | Par quoy toute vostre entente mettez | |
| Do thyn entent to herkene it." | 752 | A moy oïr." | 256 |

The celebrated passage in which the Knight in Black tells Chaucer how he was devoted to Love before he became enamored of any

¹ Note that these lines are from another part of the poem. They are a part of the Knight's account of his lady's inconstancy. Chaucer has applied them to fickle Fortune.

particular lady, and how he prayed the God to "beset" his heart properly sometime, should be compared with two distinct passages in the *Jugement*, to both of which Chaucer is clearly indebted. One is a similar avowal on the part of Machaut's Knight (vss. 261-73), the other is a portion of a speech of the Lady's (vss. 125-33). Let us first compare Chaucer, vss. 759-77, with Machaut, vss. 261-73, italicizing the lines that correspond.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|---|-----|
| "Sir," quod he, "sith first I couthe | 759 | "Dame, très dont que je me sos entendre | 261 |
| Have any maner wit fro youthe, | 760 | Et que mes cuers pot sentir et com- | 262 |
| Or kyndely understanding | | prendre | |
| To comrehende, in any thing, | | Que c'est amer, je ne finay de tendre | |
| What love was in myn owne wit, | | A estre amez; | |
| Dredeles, I have ever yit | 764 | Si que lonc temps, pour estre amis | |
| Be tributary and yiven rente | | clamez, | |
| To Love hoolly with good entente, | | Eins que mes cuers fust assis ne don- | |
| And through plesaunce become his | | nez | |
| thral | | N'a dame nulle otroiez n'assenez, | 267 |
| With good wil, body, herte, and al. | 768 | | |
| Al this I putte in his servage | | | |
| As to my lord, and did homage; | | A Bonne Amour | 268 |
| And ful devoutly prayde him to, | | Par maintes fois fis devoute clamour | |
| He shulde besette myn herte so | 772 | Qu'elle mon cuer asselat a l'onour | |
| That it plesaunce to him were | | De celle en qui il fesoit son sejour, | |
| And worship to my lady dere. | | Et que ce fust | 272 |
| And this was long, and many a yeer | 776 | Si que loange et gloire en receüst." | 273 |
| Or that myn herte was set o-wher, | 777 | | |
| That I did this." | | | |

We observe that Chaucer has changed the order, so that his vss. 775-76, which correspond to Machaut's vss. 265-66, come after his vss. 771-74, which correspond to Machaut's vss. 268-73. We also note that Chaucer's vss. 764-70 do not correspond to anything in this passage of Machaut. In the other passage of Machaut (vss. 125-33), however, we find a striking parallel to Chaucer's vss. 764-70:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| "Dredeles, I have ever yit | 764 | "Sire, il a bien set ans ou huit entiers | 125 |
| Be tributary and yiven rente | | Que mes cuers a esté sers et rentiers | 126 |
| To Love hoolly with good entente, | | A Bonne Amour, si qu' apris a ses | |
| | | sentiers | |
| | | Ay très m'enfance. | |
| And through plesaunce become his | | Car dës premiers que j'eus sa congnois- | |
| thral | | sance, | |
| With good wil, body, herte, and al; | 768 | Cuer, corps, pooir, vie, avoir et puis- | 130 |
| | | sance | |
| | | Et quanqu'il fu de moy, mis par | |
| | | plaisance | |
| | | En son servage. | |
| Al this I putte in his servage | 770 | Et elle me retint en son hommage." | 133 |
| As to my lord, and did homage." | | | |

Thus it appears that almost every word in vss. 759-77 of the *Book of the Duchess* is accounted for either by Machaut, vss. 261-73, or by Machaut, vss. 125-33.

We may now pass to the account which Chaucer's Knight in Black gives of his first meeting with Blanche:

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| 'It happed that I cam on a day Into a place ther I say, Trewly, the fairest companye Of ladies that ever man with y ^e Had seen togedres in oo place. Shal I clepe it hap or grace That broghte me ther? Nay, but Fortune, That is to lyen ful comune. | 805 812 | "Tant qu'il avint qu'en une com- paingnie Ou il avoit mainte dame jolle, Jeune, gentil, joleuse et envoisie, Vins par Fortune, Qui de mentir a tous est trop com- mune. | 281 285 |
| Among thise ladies thus echoon, Soth to seyn, I saw oon That lyk was noon of the route; For I dar swere, withoute doute, That, as the someres sonne bright Is fairer, clerer, and hath more light Than any planete in heven, The mone or the sterres seven, For al the world so hadde she Surmounted hem alle of beaute, Of maner and of cominesse." | 817 818 822 826 827 | Si en choisi entre les autres une Qui, tout aussi com li solaus la lune Veint de clarté, Avoit elle les autres seurmonté De pris, d'onneur, de grace et de biauté." | 286 290 |
| "I saw hir daunce so comilly, Carole and singe so swetely, Laughe and pleye so womanly, And loke so debonairly, So goodly speke and so frendly, That, certes, I trowe that evermor Nas seyn so blisful a tresor. For every heer on hir hed, Soth to seyn, it was not red, Ne nouthur yelw, ne brown it nas; Me thoghte most lyk gold it was. And whiche eyen my lady hadde! Debonair, goode, glade, and sadde, | 848 852 856 860 | "Car je la vi dancier si cointement Et puis chanter si trës jollement, Rire et jouer si gracieusement, Qu'onques encor Ne fu veü plus gracieus tresor. Car si cheveus ressambloient fil d'or Et n'estoient ne trop blont ne trop sor. Mais si dui oueil . . . Furent riant, | 297 302 312 316 |
| Simple, of good mochel, noght to wyde; | 861 | . . . dous, humble et attralant, . . . Et s'estoient clungnetant par mesure, Fendus a point, sans trop grant ouverture, | 318 321 322 |
| Therto hir look nas not a-syde, Ne overthwert, but beset so wel It drew and took up everydel Alle that on hir gan beholde. | 862 | Tout acquerant par leur douce pointure; N'a l'entreouvrir Ne se peüst nuls homs qui soit couvrir | |
| Hir eyen semed anon she wolde Have mercy,—fooles wenden so; But it was never the rather do. | 866 | Qu' en mi le cuer ne l'alassent ferir ¹ S' il leur pleüst, et pour euls retenir. Mais leurs regars | |

¹ Cf. also Chaucer, vs. 883: "But many oon with hir look she herte."

| | | | |
|--|-----|--|-----|
| It nas no countrefeted thing; | | Mercl donnant par samblant, aus | 329 |
| It was hir owne pure loking, | 870 | musars | |
| That the goddesse, dame Nature, | | | |
| Had made hem open by mesure, | | | |
| And clos; for, were she never so glad, | | | |
| Hir loking was not foly sprad." | 874 | N'estoit mie folettement espars." ¹ | 330 |

Chaucer's Knight says that he cannot describe the lady's face (vss. 895 ff.). Machaut's Knight had given an elaborate description of nose, mouth, cheeks, teeth, and chin. Here Chaucer has deliberately departed from his model, and with good judgment. There is, however, still one reminiscence:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| "But thus moche dar I seyn, that | 903 | "Mais a merveille | 356 |
| she | | Fu sa couleur, des autres nompareille, | |
| Was rody, fresh, and lyvely hewed; | | Car elle fu vive, fresche et vermeille. | 358 |
| And every day hir beaute newed. | | | |
| And negh hir face was aldir-best; | 906 | Tant fu belle, ² que je croy fermement, | 397 |
| For certes Nature hadde swich lest | | Se Nature, qui tout fait soutilment, | |
| To make that fair that trewly she | | En voloit faire une aussi proprement, | |
| Was hir cheef patron of beautee | | Qu'elle y fauroit | 400 |
| And cheef ensample of al hir werk." | 910 | Et que jamais assener n'i sarroit, | |
| | | Se l'exemple de ceste ci n'avoit | |
| | | Qui de blauté toutes autres passoit." | 403 |

Chaucer's phrase, "the noble yift of hir mercy" (v. 1270) occurs twice in the French poem:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Vous remerci | |
| Dou noble don de vo douce mercl. | |
| —vss. 640-41. | |
| La merclay com vous avez oi | |
| Dou noble don de sa douce mercl. | |
| —vss. 669-70. | |

The following parallel is sufficiently striking:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|---|-----|
| Our hertes wern so even a payre | 1269 | De nos deus cuers estoit si juste paire | 166 |
| That never nas that oon contrayre | 1290 | Qu'onques ne fu l'un a l'autre con- | |
| To that other, for no wo. | | traire; | |
| For soth yliche they suffred tho | | Ensois estoient | |
| Oo blisse and eek oo sorwe bothe; | | Tuit d'un acort; une pensée avoient; | |
| Yliche they were bothe gladde and | 1294 | De volenté, de desir se sambloient; | 170 |
| wrothe: | | Un bien, un mal, une joie sentoient | |
| Al was us oon, withoute were; | | Conjointement, | |
| And thus we lived ful many a yere | | N'onques ne fu entre eaus deus autre- | |
| So wel, I can nat telle how. | 1297 | ment, | |
| | | Mais c'a toudis esté si loiaument | 174 |
| | | Qu'il n'ot onques un vilain pensement | |
| | | En nos amours. | 176 |

¹ In the punctuation of Machaut, vss. 329-30, I follow Höpffner's text. But Chaucer understood the French differently, taking "aus musars" with "par samblant." Probably Chaucer was right, and we should remove Höpffner's comma after "samblant" and put one after "musars."

² The subject is now the lady, not "couleur." In the intervening lines Machaut has given us further enumerative description. With vss. 361-63 of the French we may

Sandras has already quoted vss. 281-90 of Machaut's poem as the source of vss. 817-27 of the *Book of the Duchess*, but he credits them to the *Fontaine Amoureuse*.¹ He has also quoted vss. 166-67, 169-73 of Machaut's poem (with a correct ascription to "Jugem. du bon roi de Behaigne") as the source of vss. 1289-91, 1293-96, of Chaucer.²

"One might have imagined," writes Tyrwhitt of the *Book of the Duchess*, "that this poem, written upon a particular occasion, was in all probability an original composition; but upon comparing the portrait of a beautiful woman, which M. de la Ravillière [Poes. du R. de N. Gloss. v. BELEE.] has cited from Ms. du Roi, N° 7612. with Chaucer's description of his heroine [ver. 817, *et seq.*], I find that several lines in the latter are literally translated from the former. I should not therefore be surprized, if, upon a further examination of the Ms. it should appear, that our author, according to his usual practice, had borrowed a considerable part of his work from some French poet."³

The portrait of a beautiful woman which Tyrwhitt found in Lévasque de la Ravillière's note,⁴ credited simply to "Manuscrit du Roi, N° 7612," without indication of title or author, is a string of excerpts from Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*. It comprises the following verses of that poem: 281-82, 286-89, 297-322, 325-26 (substantially), 337-43, 348-400, 1234-38, 1249, 1253-55. Thus it appears that my results in the present paper have been in part anticipated by Tyrwhitt.⁵

compare Chaucer, vss. 939-47; and with vss. 364-82 of the French, we may compare Chaucer, vss. 953-60. In these two passages the resemblances would not be significant but for the parallels already quoted.

¹ *Étude sur G. Chaucer* (1859), pp. 292-93. Sandras adds "etc." to both passages, which shows that he saw further resemblances (cf. also p. 90). He remarks (p. 94): "L'Éloge de Blanche est surtout tiré du ditié de *Remède de Fortune*" (p. 94). See also Furnivall, *Trial Forewords*, p. 47; Skeat, note on *Book of the Duchess*, vs. 805 (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 483). Cf. ten Brink, *Chaucer: Studien* (1870), I, 7-8.

² Pp. 94-95. Cf. Skeat, note on *Book of the Duchess*, vs. 1288 (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 494).

³ Note on the Retraction in the "Parson's Tale," *Canterbury Tales* III (1775), 312-13.

⁴ *Les Poésies du Roy de Navarre* (Paris, 1742), II, 201-5.

⁵ Skeat is partly right in his conjecture that the verses quoted by Sandras, p. 293, as from the *La Fontaine Amoureuse* (we have found that they are really *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, vss. 281-90) "are, no doubt, the lines to which Tyrwhitt refers in his remarks . . . in a note to the last paragraph of the *Persones Tale*" (note on *Book of the Duchess*, vs. 805, *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 483). On "Manuscrit du Roi, N° 7612," see Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques*, I, lxxiii.

The reader who is intimately acquainted with the *Book of the Duchess* will not fail to perceive that the imitations which the present paper designates, even when they are added to all that have been signalized heretofore, by no means discredit Chaucer's originality in that charming and generally underrated poem. If, for example, the whole description of the Duchess Blanche is compared with the whole description of the lost lady in Machaut, the freedom of Chaucer's hand comes out in the most striking way. For one thing, he has abolished the artistic formality of the French poet, and has given to the passage an appearance of artless inevitability that none but Chaucer could achieve.

II. "MAKE THE METRES OF HEM AS THEE LESTE"

The words of the God of Love to Chaucer in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, "Make the metres of hem as thee leste" (B, 562), have assumed a fictitious importance in the minds of Chaucerians. Clearly, it will not do to maintain that this permissive observation is either greatly or specially significant, unless we can feel sure that it is not a mere reflex of something that Chaucer had read. And that it is such a reflex appears, on the whole, rather probable. In fact, the line in question may easily be explained as a reversal of the injunction which the King of Navarre lays upon Guillaume de Machaut in *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*.

Machaut, as we have seen, had made the King of Bohemia decide that a knight whose *amie* has forsaken him is in harder case than a lady who has lost her lover by death.¹ This was in the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, with which, as we now know, Chaucer was very familiar. Machaut finished the poem as early as 1346. Somewhat later, apparently in 1349, he began a *palinode*—*Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*—in which the former judgment is reversed. Machaut represents himself as accused of wronging the ladies in his previous poem.² The case is submitted to the King of Navarre, and is argued at great length. Machaut is found guilty on three counts, and the king passes the following sentence:

Il vous couvient, chose est certainne,
Faire un lay pour la premereinne

¹ See p. 465, above.

² See vs. 811 ff., 863 ff., 915 ff., and elsewhere.

Amiablement, sans tenson;
 Pour la seconde une chanson
 De trois vers et a un refrain—
 —Oëz, comment je le refrain—
 Qui par le refrain se commense,
 Si comme on doit chanter a danse;
 Et pour la tierce, une balade.
 Or n'en faites pas le malade,
 Eins respondes haitiement
 Après nostre commandement
 De tous pouns vostre entencion;
 Je fais ci ma conclusion.¹

There is a manifest resemblance between Machaut's situation in the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* and Chaucer's in the Prologue to the *Legend*. Both poets have offended in a similar way, and both are sentenced to make similar reparation. This resemblance alone, in view of Chaucer's fondness for Machaut, is enough to justify the conjecture that the plan of the Prologue to the *Legend* was suggested or influenced by the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*.² But, quite apart from any resemblance, we have strong reasons for believing that Chaucer had read Machaut's poem before he wrote the Prologue. That he had read Machaut's *Fontaine Amoureuse* before this time has long been a matter of common knowledge.³ We now know that he had also read the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*. The last-named poem was written not later than 1346,⁴ the *Fontaine Amoureuse* between the end of 1360 and the end of 1362.⁵ The *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* appears to date from 1349 and 1350,⁶

¹ Vss. 4181-94 (*Œuvres*, ed. Höpffner, I, 281-82).

² The following passage in *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* bears a certain resemblance to the Prologue to the *Legend* (A, vss. 342-48; cf. B, vss. 364-69):

J'ay bien de besoignes escriptes
 Devers moy, de plusieurs manieres,
 De moult de diverses matieres,
 Dont l'une l'autre ne ressamble.

—vss. 884-87.

Prologue A, vss. 326-32 (B, vss. 350-56) may also be compared with Machaut, vss. 827-38. But the argument does not depend on such resemblances, which may be accidental.

³ Since he used it in the *Book of the Duchess*. See Sandras, p. 294, n. 1; ten Brink *Chaucer: Studien*, I, 8 ff., 198 ff.

⁴ Höpffner, *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, I, lix; Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques*, I, xli. The king was killed in the Battle of Cressy, August 25, 1346; the poem represents him as alive.

⁵ Höpffner, I, xxxviii-xxxix; cf. Chichmaref, I, li-llii.

⁶ Höpffner, I, xxx-xxxi, lxx ff.; Chichmaref, I, xlv.

that is to say, it falls between the other two. What we know about Machaut's manuscripts and his method of arranging his works¹ makes it all but certain that Chaucer found the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne* and the *Fontaine Amoureuse* in a single manuscript, and that any such manuscript would also have contained the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*. Clearly, then—whether or not this poem had its influence on the plan of the Prologue to the *Legend*—nothing was more natural than for Chaucer to remember it when he was writing the conclusion of the Prologue, and for him, thus remembering it, to substitute for the stringent metrical orders given by the judge in Machaut a free-and-easy utterance "Make the metres as thee leste" on the part of the judge who settled *his* case.

These considerations are strengthened by a study of that extraordinary anonymous work the *Trésor Amoureux*, ascribed to Froissart, without good grounds, by Kervyn de Lettenhove.

The introductory part of this poem (or collection of poems) bears a general resemblance to the Prologue to the *Legend*. The author has a dream in which he finds himself in a beautiful garden where there are two splendid pavilions:

Mais tout ainsi que je pensoye
A ceste belle vision,
Il me vint en advision
Que je l'escrisoie en un livre
Pour en avoir mieulx à delivre
Remenissances ou retentive
Par memoire ymaginative,
Et disoit: "Je fay cy vers,
Lesquels ne sont pas trop divers,
Car ilz ne sont que coupletes
En fourme de lignes doubletes."²

—vss. 88 ff.

The poet is conducted into the presence of the God of Love, who is holding a court. Love takes him into his service, and observes with approval that he is writing an account of the vision.³ Love then gives him full instructions as to the making of the book. These include very minute directions about the different meters to be used.

¹ See Höffner, I, xlv ff., and (especially) Chichmaref, I, lxxii ff.

² *Œuvres de Froissart, Poésies*, ed. Scheler, III, 53.

³ Vss. 508 ff. (III, 68).

Parmi ce que tu en as fait
 Seize cens couplettes feras
 Et en quatre pars les mettras;
 Ce sont quatre cens en chascune
 Partie de rytme commune.
 Entre les quatre pars espases
 Ara trois, se tu les compases
 Justement; et en ta premiere
 Espase, par bonne maniere,
 Des balades y veuil avoir
 Quarante quatre au dire voir;
 Et en l'espase du milieu,
 Que pour quarante n'i ait lieu;
 Et en l'espase derreniere
 Autel nombre qu'en la premiere.
 Des rondeaulz y veuil trente six,
 Justement entez et assis,
 Douze en chascun nombre des trois,
 Afin qu'il ne soit trop estrois.
 Douze balades estiras,
 Où les douze rondeaulz liras
 Quant tu les y aras entez.¹

It is quite possible that Chaucer knew the *Trésor Amoureux*,² and that, finding himself, in fact or fiction, intrusted with a commission somewhat similar to that of the author, he thought, with a smile, of the pedantic instructions given to his predecessor. This alone would account well enough for his representing the God of Love in his own vision as less rigorous in imposing metrical requirements: "Make the metres of hem as thee leste!"

However that may be, there is little doubt that Chaucer was acquainted with Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, and such acquaintance is all we need for our purposes. The author of the *Trésor* probably knew Machaut's poem; for everybody read Machaut. If Chaucer knew both poems, so much the better. If, indeed, it had actually become the fashion to say something about meter—then, best of all! Whatever hypothesis we choose to adopt, we are free at last from the necessity of contemplating Chaucer's line as a literary or biographical document of weighty importance.

¹ Vss. 734 ff. (III, 75).

² The date of the *Trésor Amoureux* is not exactly determinable, but there is no reason to regard the poem as later than Chaucer's *Legend*.

III. THE WIFE OF BATH

In al the parisshe wyf ne was ther noon
 That to the offring bifore hir sholde goon;
 And if ther dide, certayn so wrooth was she
 That she was out of alle charitee.

—Prol., vss. 449-52.

This passage is excellently illustrated by chap. 35 of Eustache Deschamps's *Miroir de Mariage*. A woman is speaking to her son-in-law about his wife:

Et se moy et ses parens sommes
 A une grant feste au moustier,
 Elle me doit la compaignier
 Pour veoir qui fera la grande
 Et qui doit aler a l'offrande
 Devant ou moien ou derrain,
 Comment on se prant par la main,
 Et comment d'un autre costel
 On se flechist devant l'autel,
 En baisant l'estole du prestre,
 Auquel bout son siege doit estre,
 Comment on s'en doit retourner,
 Sa teste faire et atourner,
 Soy excusir d'offrir devant:
 "Passez.—Non feray.—Or avant!
 Certes si ferez, ma cousine.
 —Non feray.—Huchez no voisine,
 Qu'elle doit mieux devant offrir.
 —Vous ne le devriez souffrir,"
 Dist la voisine; "n' appartient
 A moy: offrez, qu'a vous ne tient
 Que li prestres ne se delivre.
 Certes l'en me tendroit pour yvre
 Et aussi bien sote seroye,
 S'en nul lieu devant vous offroye."
 La se tiennent lieue et demie:
 "Offrez.—Certes vel feray mie."
 Et au derrain va la plus grande
 Devant les aultres a l'offrande.¹

IV. "A FINCH EEK COUDE HE PULLE"

"And prively a finch eek coude he pulle" (Prol., vs. 652) was interpreted by Tyrwhitt as a proverbial expression. According to

¹ Vss. 3262-90 (*Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Raynaud, IX, 109-10).

him "to pull a finch" signified "to strip a man, by fraud, of his money,"¹ and in this erroneous gloss he has been followed by all the editors and by the *Oxford Dictionary*.² But, in the passage which includes this verse, Chaucer is not speaking of fraud: he is describing the Summoner's method in cases of fornication. And the context indicates the meaning of "to pull a finch" with perfect clearness:³

He was a kindly chap; there was no better comrade ["fellow"] in the world. For a trifling bribe he would allow one of his boon companions to keep a concubine for a twelvemonth, and then excuse him from appearing in the archdeacon's court. Indeed, on the quiet he himself could *pull a finch*; and he was always ready to explain to other good fellows of his own sort that, *in such cases*, there was no reason to fear the archdeacon's curse—for, if the fault were detected, a fine would settle the matter.

Obviously, *in swich cas* refers back to "pull a finch," and that, in its turn, is connected in thought with "have his concubin." To interpret the expression as equivalent to "cheating a greenhorn" simply destroys the continuity of the whole passage.

If the meaning of "pull a finch" is any longer in doubt, it may be settled by a reference to Michael Lindener's *Rastbüchlein*, where *federziehen* is mentioned as one of many "*wunderbarliche setzamme nammen*" for "*das kindermachen*."⁴ And if a genuine English example is required, we have but to look at the punning remarks about "byrdys" in *Piers of Fullham*, where one should read, "To helpe ete hem, rost[e], or pulle,"—that is, "to help to eat them, to roast them, or to pluck them."⁵ After this, it is scarcely necessary to refer to the gibe addressed to "l'amant discret" in various French songs which resemble the ballad of *The Baffled Knight*:⁶

¹ Glossary, s.v. "finch."

² S.v. "finch," 1; s.v. "pulle," I. 6.

³ Professor Child's pupils will not forget the delicately casual way in which he used to call their attention to the true meaning of Chaucer's phrase.

⁴ Ed. Lichtenstein, No. 1, p. 7.

⁵ Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales*, p. 127, ll. 6-11.

⁶ Child, No. 112, II, 479 ff. See pp. 480-82 for further parallels to this ballad, several of which contain the same turn.

Quand vous teniez l'alouette,
Il fallait la plumer.
Quand vous teniez la fillette,
Il la fallait baiser.¹

Quand on tenait la caille,
Il fallait la plumer.
Quand on tenait la fille,
Il fallait l'embrasser.²

Il fallait plumer la perdrix
Pendant qu'elle était prise.³

Mon beou moussu, quand l'on la ten,
Fau plumar la gallino.⁴

V. CHAUCER AND "L'INTELLIGENZA"

Koeppel is inclined to think that Chaucer knew the Italian poem called *L'Intelligenza*.⁵ But the evidence, apart from the name

¹ Rolland, *Recueil des chansons populaires*, I, 28.

² Guillou, *Chansons populaires de l'Ain*, p. 102.

³ Bladé, *Poésies populaires en language française recueillies dans l'Armagnac et l'Agenais*, p. 77.

⁴ Arbaud, *Chants populaires de la Provence*, II, 92.

It is not denied that "to pull (or pluck) a pigeon" (or the like) often means "to cheat or strip a dupe." Besides the examples that have already been collected (Tyrwhitt, *Glossary*, s. v. "finch;" Skeat on Prol., vs. 649; *Oxford Dictionary*, s. v. "pigeon," 3b; s. v. "pluck," v., I, 6; s. v. "pull," v., I, 6), the following may be cited: "We wyl knowe who pulled the henne" (*A Pore Helpe*, vs. 251, Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, III, 261); "And these poor silly young birds are commonly caught before they be fledged, and pulled bare before ever they knew they had feathers" (Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny*; Arber, *An English Garner*, 1st ed., VI, 259); "Thou look'st like a poor pigeon, pull'd of late" ("The Three Ladies of London," Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VI, 319); "Then will relate how this great bird was pull'd of his rich feathers, and most finely gull'd" ("The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl," v, 1, Collier's *Dodsley*, VI, 389); "Was there ever green plover so pull'd?" (Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, iv, 1); "Pennyboy Senior: And what plover's that They have brought to pull? Broker: I know not, some green plover" (Jonson, *The Staple of News*, II, 1); "A religious house forsooth, where his plumes shall be well pulled" (Coryat, *Crudities*, 1611, p. 168, ed. 1776, I, 210). See also Moisant de Brieux, *Origines de quelques coutumes anciennes et de plusieurs façons de parler triviales* (Caen, 1874), II, 128.

But these phrases (as well as the familiar "to have a crow to pull, or to pluck, with one," in the sense of "to have a bone to pick," "a quarrel to settle") throw no light on the verse which we are considering. The summoner's functions are well described in the *Friar's Tale*, as well as the scope of the archdeacon's jurisdiction, and punishing "confidence men" does not appear in the list.

⁵ *Englische Studien*, XX, 156-57. Miss Hammond incautiously accepts the view that Chaucer used *L'Intelligenza* in *Troilus*, II, 19-21 (Chaucer, a *Bibliographical Manual*, p. 83).

Analida (which proves nothing) consists only in the resemblance between the following passages:

Eek, though I speke of love unfeelingly,
No wonder is, for it no thing of newe is
A blind man can nat iuggen wel in hewis.

—*Troilus*, ii, 19-21.

E non si pò d'amor proprio parlare
A chi non prova i soi dolzi savori,
E senza prova non sen pò stimare
Più che lo ceco nato de' colori.

—*L'Intelligenza*, ed. Gellrich, st. 5.

The comparison has no force. The Italian author does not (like Chaucer) pretend to be an outsider in the affairs of love. On the contrary, he represents himself as a connoisseur and remarks that love is a subject that cannot be made intelligible to those who have not felt its charms. As to the blind man's lack of judgment in colors, that is a very common proverb, popular for centuries and of European currency.¹ It occurs, for example, in the *Confessio Amantis*:

The blind man no colour demeth,
But al is on, riht as him semeth (vss. 2489-90),²

and in Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*, vs. 994: "The blynde man of colours al wrong deemeth."³ And the mediaeval Latin "*Cecus non iudicat de coloribus*" occurs as a marginal gloss in both Hoccleve and Gower. Later examples are numerous (as in Greene, *Ciceronis Amor*, 1589: "Thinke me not then so blind but I can judge of coullors"⁴), but need not be multiplied.

VI. "NO MAN CASTE HIS PILCH AWAY"

What shul thise clothes many-fold
Lo! this hote somers day?—
After greet heet cometh cold;
No man caste his pilche away.

—*Proverbs* (Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 407).

¹ See Haackel, *Das Sprichwort bei Chaucer*, No. 94, p. 29 (*Erlanger Beiträge*, VIII); Walz, *Das Sprichwort bei Gower*, No. 72, p. 25.

² Pauli, II, 210; Macaulay, III, 15.

³ Ed. Wright, p. 36; ed. Furnivall, *Works of Hoccleve*, III, 36.

⁴ Grosart, VII, 143.

Cf. *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, No. 44 (ed. Tobler, p. 20):

Cil qui se desgarnist
 Dou sien, on l'escharnist,
 Quant il n'a mais que prendre;
 Tost va avoires et vient.
 Mais hon qui honte crient,
 N'i s'i lait pas souzprendre.

*Et par pluie et par bel tens doit on porter sa chape,
 ce dit li vilains.*

Fecunda Ratis, vss. 613-14 (ed. Voigt, p. 119):¹

Byrrum, si sapias, adhibebis sole sereno;
 Fac utrum libeat pluuiā inpendente, viator.

Voigt quotes *Proverbia Heinrichi*: "Byrrum sole feras: licet, est si nimbus, omittas." The proverb is also well known in French and German.²

VII. "CAST UP THE GATES"

With that gan al her meyne for to shoute,
 "A! go we see! Caste up the yatis wide!
 For through this strete he mot to paleys ride."

—*Troilus*, ii, 614-16.

The reading *yatis* is thoroughly established by manuscript authority; but Professor Skeat (followed by Professor McCormick) rejects it, substituting *latis* ("lattice"), on the strength of Harleian 3943 (a very poor manuscript).³ He describes "the ordinary reading 'gates'" as "ludicrously wrong."⁴ But it is perfectly correct, and should stand. Cressid's household wish the porter to open the gates of her mansion in order that they may stand in the gateway (or go out into the street) so as to see Troilus as he passes. "Caste up" of course means "open" (cf. *dup*, and Ger. *aufmachen*)—a sense which the *Oxford Dictionary* seems to have missed. The following passages will suffice to illustrate this meaning:

¹ Cited by Tobler.

² See Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Proverbes*, 1st ed., II, 126; 2d ed., II, 174; G. Paris *Journal des Savants*, 1809, pp. 567-68; I. v. Zingerle, *Die deutschen Sprichwörter im Mittelalter*, p. 99 (all cited by Voigt or Tobler).

³ I know of no other MS that has anything but *yatis* in some form or other. Professor Lounsbury's characterization of Harleian 3943 as "much the worst that has been printed" (*Studies in Chaucer*, I, 398) is richly deserved.

⁴ *Oxford Chaucer*, II, lxxii.

Leit down the bryg, kest wp the zettis wide.—[Blind Harry,] *Wallace*, iv, 483 (ed. Moir, p. 63).

Cast up my gates baith broad and wide.—Child's *Ballads*, No. 197, st. 2 (IV, 50).

Cast up my yetts baith wide and braid.—Child's *Ballads*, No. 300 t.10 (IV, 175).

Cast up the door.—Var. lect. in *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, ed. Hecht, p. 151.

VIII. "DREDE FOND FIRST GODDES"

The epigrammatic utterance of the skeptical Cressid, "Eek drede fond first goddes, I suppose" (*Troilus*, iv, 1408¹), is well known as a doubtful fragment of Petronius² ("Primus in orbe deos fecit timor") quoted by Fulgentius,³ and as occurring also in Statius, *Theb.*, iii, 661. Miss Petersen notes it from Holkot, *Super Libros Sapientiae*, lectio 164: "Petronius lacedonum: primus in orbe deos fecit inesse timor."⁴ It should be observed that Holkot's quotation is from some elegiac poem, since it is a pentameter, whereas in both Petronius (Fulgentius) and Statius the words (without *in esse*) begin a hexameter.

We may compare Peter Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, cap. 93⁵ ("Talis enim cum philosopho dicit: Primus in orbe deos fecit timor") and Johannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos*⁶ ("Quid aliud, ait, quam quod poeta Virgilius sentiebat: Primus, inquiens, in orbe deos fecit timor"). In Herbert's French version of the *Dolopathos* we find:

Virgiles dist outreiemant
Que si fait deu premieremant
Furent par grant paor troveit.⁷

Herbert's editors quote *Aeneid*, viii, 40–41:

Neu belli terrere minis; timor omnis et irae
Concessere deum.

¹ Not in the *Filostrato*.

² Frag. 37 Bücheler. See also Bücheler-Riese, *Anthol. Lat.*, No. 471, I (1894), 345.

³ *Mythol.*, i, 1.

⁴ *On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale* (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 10), 1898, p. 116.

⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCV, 271 C.

⁶ Ed. Oesterley, p. 93.

⁷ Vss. 12,371–73, ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, pp. 413–14.

IX. CHAUCER AND GEOFFREY DE VINSAU

Tyrwhitt long ago identified the Nun's Priest's "Gaufred, dere mayster soverayn"¹ as Geoffrey de Vinsauf, and showed that Chaucer was acquainted with the lamentation for Richard Cœur de Lion in that rhetorician's *Nova Poetria*, vss. 366 ff.² Equally certain, though hitherto unrecorded, is Chaucer's use of Geoffrey at an earlier date, for the odd figure of the "hertes lyne" in the first book of the *Troilus* is clearly borrowed from the *Nova Poetria*.

For every wight that hath an hous to founde
Ne renneth nought the werk for to beginne
With rakel honde, but he wol byde a stounde,
And sende his hertes lyne out fro withinne
Alderfirst, his purpos for to winne.

—i, 1065-69.

This is an almost literal translation of the following lines from Geoffrey's poetical handbook:

Si quis habet fundare domum, non currat ad actum
Impetuosa manus: intrinseca linea cordis
Praemetitur opus.³

—vss. 43-45.

Chaucer, it is manifest, read *currit* (perhaps rightly) instead of *currat*; but he mistook *praemetitur* ("measures beforehand") for *praemittitur* or *praemittetur*—or else his manuscript was wrong.

Perhaps we may also recognize the influence of the *Nova Poetria* in the *Squire's Tale*. The knight who came with the steed of brass was a practised orator:

He with a manly voys seith his message
After the forme used in his langage,
Withouten vyce of syllable or of lettere;
And, for his tale sholde seme the better,
Accordant to his wordes was his chere,
As techeth art of speche hem that it lere.

—F, 99-104.

Pertinent directions are given by Geoffrey at the very end of his treatise (vss. 2024 ff.). He insists that tongue, countenance, and bearing should all be duly studied by a speaker:

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, B, 4537.

² Leyser, *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi*, 1721, pp. 882 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 864.

In recitante sonent tres linguae: prima sit oris;
Altera rhetorici vultus; et tertia gestus.

—vss. 2024-25.

Vultus et gestus gemino condita sapore
Vis venit a lingua.

—vss. 2052-53.

The whole passage (vss. 2024-59¹) is well worth reading, though it is too long to quote. Chaucer's "chere," it will be noticed, is broad enough to cover both *vultus* and *gestus*.

X. "MARCIA CATOUN"

Professor Tatlock² argues against the derivation of "Marcia Catoun"—in the Prologue to the *Legend*³—from St. Jerome and thinks that Chaucer learned about her from Dante (*Inf.*, iv, 128; *Purg.*, i, 78-81). He takes Chaucer to refer to Marcia, the wife of Cato of Utica, not to "Marcia Catonis filia minor" (St. Jerome). I have no doubt that Mr. Tatlock is right in supposing that Cato's wife is meant, and that Chaucer had Dante in mind rather than St. Jerome; but Dante does not tell Marcia's story in the *Divine Comedy*.⁴ Besides, Dante does not afford the expression "Marcia Catoun." It is worth noting, then, that Geoffrey de Vinsauf has this very expression in vs. 1775: "'Dalida Sansonis' vel 'Marcia' pone 'Catonis.'"⁵ Geoffrey is simply giving examples of different turns of phrase, and has nothing further to say about Marcia. From his association of "Marcia Catonis" with "Dalida Sansonis," however, it is fair to infer that he means "Marcia, Cato's wife." Since the passage about the "hertes lyne" proves that Chaucer knew Geoffrey's treatise when he wrote the *Troilus*, there is of course no difficulty in believing that he had read "Marcia Catonis" in this same treatise before he wrote the "ballade" in the Prologue. Still, a common rule of grammar (for which the modern schoolboy's example is "Hectoris Andromache") may have furnished him with the form of his

¹ Leyser, *op. cit.*, pp. 974-76.

² *Modern Philology*, III, 368-70; *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 101.

³ B. vss. 252-53 (A. vss. 206-7):

Penalopee, and Marcia Catoun,
Make of your wyfnod no comparisoun.

⁴ He does tell it in the *Convito*, iv, 28; but there is no evidence that Chaucer was acquainted with the *Convito*.

⁵ Leyser, p. 962.

phrase. Possibly the association with Delilah in Geoffrey's line was proverbial in the schools—the good wife set over against the bad. It remains to determine where Chaucer read any account of Marcia's devotion. Was it perhaps in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, ii, 326 ff.—a very famous passage? Note, at all events, the following lines:

Da foedera prisci
Inlibata tori, da tantum nomen inane
Conubii, liceat tumulo scripsisse *Catonis*
Marcia.

—ii, 341-44.

Deschamps (*Miroir de Mariage*, vss. 5435 ff.) celebrates "Marcia, la fille Cathon." Perhaps Chaucer, after all, did not keep the two Marcias quite distinct in his mind.

XI. CHAUCER AND ALANUS DE INSULIS

The curious figure of a "Muse" conceived as "rusting"—in the *Envoy to Scogan*—is a reminiscence of Alanus de Insulis, though Alanus is not responsible for Chaucer's (half-jocose?) metaphor.

Ne thinke I never of sleep to wake my muse,
That rusteth in my shethe stille in pees.
Why! I was yong, I putte hire forth in prees.

—vss. 38-40.

Cf. Alanus' poetical preface to the *Anticlaudianus*:

Auctoris mendico stylum, phalerasque poetae,
Ne mea segnitiae Clio dejecta senescat,
Ne jaceat calamus, scabra rubigine torpens.¹

Note also the prose preface to the same:

Non enim timor [l. tumor] superbiae intus eructuans, ut exiret in populum, me hujus operis coegit ad fabricam, . . . sed ne meus sermo contraheret de curae raritate rubiginem.²

No one will forget the mention of "Anteclaudian" in the *House of Fame* (vs. 986) or the citation of "Aleyn in the Pleynt of Kinde" in the *Parliament of Fowls* (vs. 316).

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¹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 488.

² *Ibid.*, cols. 487-88.

GERMAN PAMPHLETEERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I

DER GESTRYFFT SCHWITZER BAUR

Über die auf den folgenden Blättern aufs neue zum Abdruck gebrachte Flugschrift aus der Reformationszeit, welche nach Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II², 221, in Basel bei Gengenbach im Jahre 1522 gedruckt wurde, bemerkt Panzer, *Annalen*, II, 122, folgendes: "Der gestryfft Schwitzer Baur: Dissz büchlin hat gemacht ein Baur ausz dem Entlibüch, Wem es nit gefall der küssz im die brüch. Unter obigem Titel steht ein grosser Holzschnitt, welcher einen Landmann, mit einem auf einem Esel reutenden Mönchen, an einem Baum sich unterredend, vorstellt. Sie soll, wie in der *Hallerischen Bibliothek*, 3. Th. S. 72. bemerkt wird, wider Murnern gerichtet seyn. Dieses mag wohl seyn; aber dass sie daselbst eine schändliche Schrift genannt wird, ist vollkommen vnrichtig. Vielleicht mag der Titel zu diesem Urteil Anlass gegeben haben. Die Schrift selbst ist, nach unserem Erachten, in aller Betrachtung lesenswürdig.

"Es ist eigentlich eine Widerlegung des Mönchen, welcher dem gemeinen Mann das Lesen teutscher Schriften als eine schwere Versündigung, in einer seiner Predigten vorgestellt hat. Die, im *Allg. Litter. Anz.*, 1799. Nr. 51. S. 510, unter dem Titel: 'Der gestryfft Schwitzer Baur' (1521) angezeigte Schrift, wird vermuthlich die nemliche seyn."

Die Schrift hat für uns in erster Linie sprachlichen Wert, daneben ist sie aber auch kulturgeschichtlich interessant. Sie betont die Abneigung der Kirche gegen die Anwendung der Vulgarsprache in religiösen Fragen. Luthers und der Reformatoren Verdienste um die deutsche Sprache werden dadurch in ein ganz besonders grelles Licht gerückt.

Was der Verfasser unter dem "gestryfft" versteht, wird ersichtlich aus den Erörterungen auf Seite B 2 v. Ein gestryffter ley

wäre darnach die spöttische Bezeichnung der Mönche und Prediger für einen Laien, dem durch die Lektüre deutscher theologischer Schriften der Kopf verdreht worden ist. Diesen Vorwurf weist der Verfasser aber ganz entschieden zurück. Er will die Bezeichnung vielmehr angewendet wissen auf die Gleissner und Pharisäer unter den Schriftgelehrten.

Angenehm fällt in der kleinen Schrift das würdevolle Masshalten im Ausdruck auf im Gegensatz zu dem polternden und derben Tone anderer Schriften aus dieser Zeit.

Neuhochdeutsche Formen und Ausdrücke begegnen hie und da; im übrigen ist die Sprache noch ganz dialektisch alemannisch gefärbt.

Der Originaldruck befindet sich in meinem Besitze und ist identisch mit demjenigen auf der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin, Cu. 8808, beschrieben von Panzer, *Annalen*, II, 122.

DER GESTRYFFT SCHWITZER BAUR: DISZ BÜCHLIN HAT
GEMACHT EIN BAUR AUSZ DEM ENTLIBÜCH, WEM
ES NIT GEFALL DER KÜSZ IÑ DIE BRÜCH

Vf das jederman erkenn vnd merck war vff disz büchlin gemacht sy / vnd vsz wz grund / so nemendt hie ein kleinen bericht. Jn dem vergangnen jor / Als man zalt. M. D. XXj. hat sich begeben / das ein prediger münch hat geprediget in der fasten in eim fläcken in dem schwitzer land / vnd hat aber allwegen jn siner predig gerürt die gestryfften leyen / die do täglich in den teütschen bücheren läsen / vnd gesprochen es sy ein verfürung vyler menschen / dann sy es nit können verstön. Nun solich predig hat gehört vnd flissiglich vff gelost¹ ein güter einfeltiger schwitzer Baur / der do vyl derselben bücher hinder iñ hat / dar durch er täglich sein hauszgesind vnderwyszt vnd lert / als dann ein jeden huszvatter zü gehört / hat dise vnd ander me gethone predig zü härtzen genummen vnd gedacht. Allmächtiger got / du bist allein ein erkenner aller härtzen nun hab ich doch mein gesind neüt bösz gelert / sunder allein dz do dient zü der liebe gottes vnd desz nächsten / vnd gesprochen zü sinem gesind. Hilfft mir got das ich zü disem münch kum / so will ich doch von iñ erfahren vsz wasz grund er hab das ein ley nit soll teütsche bücher läsen / vnd dar nach sich kurtzlich zü jñ gefügt / vnd iñ für gehalten als ir hār nach werden hören.

¹ Losen = horchen, aufmerken; Bayer. Wb., I, 1515.

By dem Münch verstand den falschen Propheten Balaam / vnd by dem Esel den gestryfften schwitzer Bauren.

EIN VORRED IN DISZ BIECHLIN

ICh armer vnwindiger / vnflissiger vnd sündiger diener Jhesu christi / Embüt den liebhaberen der Teütschen bücher / welche vnsz ziehen zü rechtem glouben / liebe gottes vnd erkantnüs siner gebotten. 5 Durch welche als vyl vnd vnsz mit den genoden gottes möglich ist / mögen theilhaftig machen der fröid der ewigen sâligkeit / minen grûsz in christo Jesu vnserem herren.

VSerwelten brüder vnd schwestern in dem namen Jhesu christi. Eüch ist zü wissen wie der hochfliegend adler / zwölffbot vnd 10 ewangelist sanctus Johannes schreibt im ersten Capitel siner ewangelischen leer. In dem anfang was das wort zē.¹ Vnd das wort ist fleisch worden (verstand mensch worden geboren in dyse wâlt von der vnbelecten vnd reinen junckfrawen Marie / vnsz armen 15 sündner also zü erlösen vnd sâlig zü machen (Aus dem wort das ist vsz christo dem brunnen der ewigen wiszheit) ist geflossen alle weisheit vnd verstendnüs der heiligen geschryfft. Wâr aber Jhesus christus nit geboren / so wâr die geschryfft nit heilig genempt. Die wyl aber aller propheten leer ist erfüllt worden in dem leben Jhesu christi vnd ist ewiglich werend / vnd sich täglich alle fromme menschen dar von 20 mögen bösseren. Dann sie ist der wunniglich flusz desz wollustigen paradisz desz hohen hymmels der do durchfûchtet vnd fruchtbar macht yn disem jomer thal das wirdig Paradisz der helgen christenheit vnd christglöubigen menschen / die sich dar von alle tag mögen besseren vnd lernen nach volgen vnserem lieben herren Jhesu christo / das ist vnsz 25 täglichen wisen / (Aij) die heylig geschryfft / als es vnsz jetzund not ist vnd ouch nie so not hat gethon / vff dz der einfeltig mensch werde dester stercker in der vernunft / sich zü hüten vor sünden / vnd sich üben in der liebe durch ein rechten glouben / do mit wir dester basz mögen halten die gebot gottes. Dann die ewangelische leer / welche sunderlich 30 do genempt wirt die helge geschryfft / welcher wir ouch in sunderheit schuldig sind vsz den gebotten christi an zü hangen vnd nach zü volgen. Jnn welcher wir gnûgsamlich finden on alle glosz oder expositz / alles das jhenig das vnsz noturftig ist zü der seel sâligkeit / vnd lond eüch nit irren / das do ettliche eigengesüchtig / hoffertig / nydig / endchristist 35 prediger / mûnch oder pfaffen predigen ein ley sôll nit lâsen tütsche bücher / als Ewangelia vnd andere meer der glichen bewerte bücher / dann sy mögens nit verstön. Vff solichs sag ich vnd halts festiglich / welcher christen mensch die wort desz helgen Ewangelis schlecht nach dem text lâsz vsz rechtem glouben liebe vnd züversicht gottes / das dyser 40 gnûgsamlich verstand alles das jhen das jmm nutz vnd noturftig ist zü

¹ Meaning: etc.

siner seel sâligkeit. Vnd gloub das christus Jesus vnser sâligmacher
 ein jeden christen menschen / er sig wie schlecht er well / der aus
 demût festem glouben / rechter lieb vnd zûversicht die wort des helgen
 ewangelis auch andere helge vnd bewerte leer liszt / dz disem gott durch
 5 sein grosse barmhârtzigkeit verlich solchen verstand durch insprechung
 desz helgen geists / als hand gehabt die einfeltigen fyscher sine lieben
 apostlen / vnd nit dôrff dar zû der prediger / welche do wellen das heilig
 ewangelium vnd die helge geschryfft bewerren ausz den heidnischen
 geschriffen vnd philosophy. Als dann schreibt ein heiliger byschoff
 10 von Tolleran geheissen Theodoricus zû den brüderren Ryffi. O ir
 christenen männer wachen / hõrend vnd sind behûtsam / das fûwere
 hârtzen nit vmbgeben werden mit den betrûgnüssen vnd irtummen der
 Sophistry / vff das ir nit abzogen werden von der waren wiszheit (das ist
 christus iesus). Dann alle die / die anhangen den betrûglicheiten vnd
 15 verfûrungen der Heydnischen leren bisz vff ir hõchst alter / sind nit
 allein zû straffen / sunder zû verschmahen vnd vnder zû trucken von
 allen menschen. Dann sie sind aller wyszheit beroubt / aller stanthaff-
 tigkeit oder stercke emplõst / vnd mit aller vnwiszheit geziert / vnd
 werden ouch yn jhener wâlt glich mit den heiden geschetzt Aber so dise
 20 doctores sterben / werden sy innen ob sy die Aristotelisch leer / oder die
 wiszheit Platonis mög erlõsen von den henden der hõlschen hunden.
 Darumb minen lieben brüder keren eûch zû dem herren Jesu christo vnd
 zû seiner göttlichen wiszheit / wann do ist nût süssers / neût fruchtharers /
 neût heyligers / neût frõlicher / neût basz schmeckenders / neût sâligers
 25 dann die göttliche geschryfft stâts betrachten vnd bedencken. Wz ist
 sicherers wann die ewangelische leer fleissiglich zû leren Darumb ir
 allerliebsten erman ich eûch fleissiglich dz ir eûch wellen zû der waren
 weiszheit schicken so ir noch iung sind / vnd verlassen die falschen
 betrûgnissen der Sophisten vnd Poetischen gedichten / vff das ir nit
 30 fallen als Origenes / der do was von Seuro sinem vatter vnd Juliana
 seiner mûter christenlich geboren. Als nun diser Origenes hat .xij. jor /
 ward er entzündt in semlicher² hitz der liebe gottes / das er jetzund
 bereit was zû disputieren vnd zû beschirmen christlichen gelouben oder
 darumb zû liden den todt. Verhiesz auch sinen brüderren wann sy wolten
 35 vmb christen glouben vnd vmb christo willen sterben / das ewig leben /
 das er ouch am aller ersten willig was zû thûnd wer der vatter nit dar vor
 gesin. Do er nun kam vff dz .xiiij. jor / ward er verschickt in Alex-
 andriam / do er in kurtzer zyt in allen kûnsten der aller durchleüchtest
 doctor ward / vnd erfûr vyl Platonischer leer / dar durch er satzt die vffer
 40 (Aij) stendnûsz desz flaisch wer natûrlich. Vnd das im auch die
 Aristotelisch leer liebet / satzt er dz ausz nût nût wurd vnd nût werden
 möcht / vnd beschlosz da mit dz die wâlt ewiglich wâr gewâsen / vnd
 kam dar zû innerhalb eins jars / das er kam in ein solche jrthûmb. Dz

¹ Samlich, semlich = eben solch, dergleichen; Bayer. Wb., II, 276.

er leſignet die vrſtendi¹ Jheſu chriſti / vnd ſprach das imm ſacrament
deſz altars in keinerley wäg wer der lyb Jheſu chriſti / vnd kam imm dar
zû / das er wenig hielt von got dem vatter / minder vom ſun / aller minſt
vom helgen geiſt. Denen lieben brüder ſollen ir nit nachfolgen. Dann
ſo bald ir eüch werden erheben in hochfart / gytikeit² vnd vnküſcheit / ſo
wirt von eüch wichen der geiſt der wyſheit. Dann diſe göttlichen ding
ſind den wiſen dyſer wält verborgen / vnd werden allein geoffenbart
den kleinnütigen vnd demütigen. Nun lieben brüder hören wie ſanctus
Jheronymus ſchribt in einer Epitel man find das Origenes hab ſächſtu-
ſent vnd meer bücher gemacht / vnd geſetzt vnder ſinen irthumen / das
die vfferſtendung deſz flaiſch neüt ſy. Auch witer das in den letzten
tagen / nit allein den verdampften ſunder ouck den teüfflen die do in dem
böſen verheret ſind got die ewige ſäligkeit well verlyhen. Aber als diſer
Origenes jetzund vmbgeben was mit todts nöten / verbracht er mit
groſſem ſchmärtzen vnd weinen diſe wort / We mir mein vſzerwelte
müter / die do hat geboren in dyſe wält ein erfarnen man aller geſatz
vnd rächten / vberträffend all ander / glycher wyſz als ein hoher thurn /
aber ſchnell biſz vff das ärdtrich zerſtröwt. Nim war der fruchtbar
boum iſt abgehown. Nim war die lüchtende ampel iſt vſzgelöſt. Nim
war das geſtirn iſt von dem himmel gefallen. Nim war die ſunn iſt
verdunckelt vnd der mon gybt nit ſin liecht / wär iſt doch der / der
minem haupt gâb das wasser / vnd meinen ougen den brunnen der
träher / vff das ich meine ſünd möge beweinen. Weinen vber mich ir
prieſter vnd leüiten. Hülent über mich alle iunckfrowen vnd eeleüt.
Weinen vnd beweinen mich meine jünger die ich ausz der moſſen lieb
han gehabt / ſchlahen vnd verzeren minen lyb vnd werffen in für die
hund / wann ich vyl ſchnöder vnd böſer bin dann ſy. Dann do ich hab
ander wellen erluchten / hab ich mich verduncklet. Vor zyten weint ich
vber Salomonem vnd bin vyl ſchnöder vnd böſer erfunden. Jch hab
auch geweint vber alle ſünder / vnd nemend war ein forcht gottes bin
ich worden. Samſon verlor ein zopff von hor / ſo hab ich verloren die
kron mines haupts. Jn betrog ein wyb / ſo hat mich min kunſt mit
miner zungen geführt in abgrund der hellen. Darumb ir kleinen mit den
groſſen zerträtten vnd zerknütschen mich vnwiſz thorecht ſaltz / vnd
rüffen vff zû dem vatter der barmhertzigkeit / das er durch den groſſen
verdienſt ſins bitteren lydens vnd ſtärbens mich wöll zû imm berüffen.
NVn ſehen vnd hören minen lieben brüder / wie dyſer hochgelerter
man vnd doctor / den vff dyſe zyt noch die chriſtlich kirch an vyl
enden ſeiner bücher halt vnd jetzund wider hârfür gezogen wirt betrach-
ten ouck die lange zyt die verſchynen iſt / dann er hat mit den erſten
doctoribus der chriſtenlichen kirchen geläpt / vnd ſind Jheronymus vnd

¹ Auferſtehung.

² Bayer. Wb., I, 958: geiticheit, giticheit = (1) avaritia, concupiscentia, Habgier, (2) ambitio.

Augustinus nach imm kummen / wie dyser hochgelert man so schwärlich
 betrübt ist worden / von der üppigen vnd verfürlichen leer / do mit er sin
 böste zyt vertriben hat / vnd nit angehangen der ewangelischen vnd gött-
 lichen leer. Was meinendt ir wie es jetzund gestanden sy by .ccc. jaren vnd
 5 me / wie so vyl nütwer lerer sind vffgestanden / so vyl geschribenten /
 welche do haben geschriben vber die wort christi / die do ein jeglicher
 vszgeleit hat nach siner hoffart vnd gytigkeit. Jr hand gar wol gesähen
 bisz har / wie sich vnser predicanten erblosen¹ hand so sie vff die kanzel
 sind kummen / mit grossem zerthänen² vnd lutem geschrey / als ob der
 10 heylig geist nummen wurekte wañ sy lut schruwen / hart vff die kanzel
 schlügen / vyl schmachwort triben. Das hat sy Christus nit gelert / er
 hats ouch nit getriben / sunder miltiglich vnd senfftmutiglich das volck
 vnderwyszt. Aber das ist bisz har ir predig gewäsen / so einer hat sollen
 das wort gots verkünden / hat er ausz dem ewangelio genummen dry
 15 oder vier wort / vnd die zů latin gesprochen. Dar nach in teütsch ouch
 gesagt / vnd glich dar vff begert ein gemein gebät / mit anruffen der
 iunckfrawen marie / das sy imm gnod erwerb umb ir kind. (Nun mer-
 ken wie hofflich er in her fart.) Disz sind die wort meins anfangs / vsz
 welchen Worten fürter fruchtbarlich zů reden mag ich nit verbringen on
 20 sunder hilf vnd genad des almächtigen gottes. Dann kein mensch mag
 nützlichen vollkommen / verfencklich vnd verdienstlich sein on erleuch-
 tung der genaden gottes. Hierumb so hálffen mir anruffen die hoch-
 wirdige himmel künigin die mütter gottes Mariam / die auch ein mütter
 der barmhertzigkeit ist / das die genad erwerb von vnserem lieben herren
 25 Jesu christo mir verfencklich zů reden vnd eüch fruchtbarlich zů hören.
 Grüssen die mit dem engelschen grüsz. Aue maria.

NVn hören wie sie do begeren von dem gemeinen volck ein gebät / vff
 das sy got vnd der heilig geist erleucht durch fürbittung der
 junckfrawen Marie vnnnd verlassen aber die wort des heiligen ewangelis
 30 von stund an / vnd nemen für sich die natürlichen meister. Aristotelem /
 Platonem / Senecam. Desz glichen Schotum / den meister von der
 hohen sinnen zē. Disz sind ire helgen geist. Zů glicher wysz als könt
 man die wort christi nit verstō / dann durch sy vnd ander scholastici
 doctores / dar durch sy dann die wort christi glichförmig machen einer
 35 wächssenen nasen / einer der krümpt sie har / der ander dōrt hin / der
 helt disz / der ander ihens / vnd machen dz arm volck zů gānsz. Als
 dann ein mol ein einfältiger baur zů mir sprach / mich bedunckt das die
 gelerten vyl grösser narren syen dann wir / ich bin hüt an dryen predigen
 gewäsen / vnd hat keir das ewangelium vszgeleit als der ander. Nun
 40 han ich nie gehōrt das die ewangelisten ein misz verstand haben dar inn
 gehabt / oder einer die wort christi anders ausz geleit hab dann der ander.
 Vff solichs sprach ich. Jch gloub dz ein jetlicher nach dem er gnad hab
 von got die wort christi verstand. Desz wir güte anzeigung haben

¹Aufblasen.²Zetern.

Matthei am xvj. Do christus sprach zû Petro. Blût vnd fleisch hat dir
das nit geoffenbart / sunder mein himelscher vatter. Wie könten aber
ettliche die genod haben. Dann manche predigen meer das sy gesehen
werden vor anderen / als mit grossem pomp / mit übung schöner gezier-
ten worten. Dar wider ist Gregorius vnd spricht. Ein christenliche
predig bedarfft nit hoffartiger noch gezielter worten. Es sprechen auch
Jheronimus vnd Richardus. Allein der dingen der wir gewisz sind /
söllen wir predigen dem volck. Nun sagen mir an was ist gewisser dann
das heilig ewangelium. Was thünd aber vnser prediger / sy land dz
ewangelium fallen / vnd predigen von der höhe desz hymmels vnd der
fröiden dar inn. Ouch von der tieffe der hell vnd der pyn dar inn.
Deszglichen von den selen imm fägfür / wie die selben durch den ablasz
gelediget werden (ich spräch gern wie ein hund der flöch) Doch hab
ich in das nit vor übel. Dann wo das fägfür nit wär / wurden sie nit so
vyl hoher roszyten / so grosz büch vnd feiszt backen haben / vnd sunst
von vyl zweyfelhaften dingen predigen sy auch / als do sy von dispu-
tieren inn den schülen / vnd ist doch ir endtlicher beschluß allzyt ein
sufficit (das ist als vyl als kumpst vnd bringst (B) nüt) vnd loud das
gewisz da hinden blibet / vnd weren vnsz armen leüten teütsche Ewan-
gelia auch andere bücher zû läsen / vnd sprächen wir verstanden sy nit.
Wolt ich gern wissen was sanctus Petrus geprediget hât / do er so vyl
volcks zû dem glouben bekart / anders dann das Ewangelium on alle
glosz / vnd ward von allem volck wol verstanden (Was soll ich aber sagen /
ein güter boum bringt güte frucht vnd ein böser böse) so aber vnser pre-
diger ouch also weren / zweyfflet mir neüt ir predigen wurd ouch frucht
bringen. Solt aber niemandt predigen dann die doctores vnd die hoch-
gelerten der geschryfft (in irem sinn) vnd solt sunst niemandts mögen
die wort christi verston zû siner seel sâligkeit / dann durch ir vszlegen
vnd exponieren / so wurd der hunderst theil der menschen nit behalten.¹
Wo kemen dann die frummen leüt vff dem land hin / welcher priester
kaum können inen das ewangelium zû teütsch sagen / ich wil geschwigen
zû exponieren. Deszglichen auch so vil hundert menschen an einer
predig sitzen vnd kum dz drit wort behalten / solt denen teütsche bücher
verbotten sin zû läsen / dar inn sy mit der wyl möchten betrachten was
inen güt wer zû der seel sâligkeit. Wâr es doch wider die wort christi
do er sprach. Wachen vnd bâtten das ir nit ingefürt werden in ver-
suchung / dann der geist ist schnell vnd dz flaisch ist kranck. Christus
hat ouch gesprochen Marci am .xij.e. am end. Was ich eüch sag das
sag ich allen menschen. Was ist bâtten anders dann sich üben in guten
wârcken / als mit läsen vnd erfüllen die sâchs wârck der barmhârtzigkeit /
vnd was ist gewacht anders dann sich hûten vor sünden. Nun spricht
sanctus Hieronymus / so der mensch traurig ist / soll er sich üben in der

¹ erlösen, erretten.

letzgen¹ der helgen geschryfft / so empfacht er trost den imm niemandt mag genemen. Er spricht auch sie sy ein leiter desz himmels vnd ein spiegel götlicher wiszheit / dar inn man billich süchen sol das heil der seel / das ist erkantnüz des hartzens / vnd durch soliche erkantnüz mag
 5 der mensch kummen zü göttlicher forcht vnd liebe / das doch die höchste kunst ist. Vnd sy mit gantzen begirden vnsz der herr geoffnet zü teütsch vnd in all sprachen. Als er vnsz verheissen hat durch den propheten Ezechielem / vmb das wir vnsz wüsten zü hüten vor den
 10 vorbotten / das sind die / die do weren der ley söll nit läsen die helge geschryfft in teütscher sprach / darumb sie billich heissen vorbotten desz Endchrists.

N Vn das wir witer kummen vff die rechte warnung sich zü hüten vor denen die solichen rat vnd wäg desz heils zerstören vnd nidertrucken mit verspottung vnd ab dem rechten wäg wisen mit worten vnd mit
 15 wercken. Mit worten / das ist / so sie weren der frumm ley söll sich nit üben in der helgen geschryfft / darumb das sy teütsch ist / mit disen worten wysen sy vns ab mi schlechtem vorbild / sy solten vnsz vor gon mit worten vnnd mit wäcken / als sy der herr lert imm ewangelio Matthei am. v. Nun hören ein clein byspil dar durch ir den verführeren
 20 dester basz mögen entgon / vnd eüch vor yn hüten. So ein bilger wil wandern von sinem vätterlichen heimat / ist min rot das er sich versäch vff den wäg mit geschüch vnd mit gewand vnd alles das imm sicherheit bringt / ouch das er imm vff zeichne vff einen zedel alle stäg vnd wäg der strosz do mit er aller gewissest mög gon den wäg do er hin begärt
 25 vnd nit irr gang / vnd wer es sach dz ein falscher brüder zü imm kem vff dem wäg vnd wolt in abwysen vff ein anderen wäg / so nām er sin zedel fur sich vnd besāh in wol / vnd lasz sich nit abwysen von sinem gūten wäg / vnd gedenc kimm bald kein gūter weiszt ab von dem gūten / aber die gefallenen sehen gern vyl fallen / vff das ir fal nit verspot werde.
 30 Nun lieben brüder mercken wer dise falschen brüder sind / die vnsz wellen hinderen oder abwysen von der rechten gots stras (Bij)sen / sind ettliche verlaszne / eygengesüchige / vnnütze hirtten / die kein liebe haben zü iren verirten schoffen / allein süchen die woll vnd nit ir heil. Jnen wol vff lüden den vntrüglich burden / dar von der herr redt Mathei am
 35 .xxiiij. da er spricht. Sie legen vff schwere vnd vntrügliche burden vff ire schulteren / vnd rürens sys mit dem minsten finger nit an. Das sind die hirtten die allein ire wäreck thünd / das sy dar durch gesehen werden von den menschen. Nun soll unsz nit bekümmern ir thün vnd lon. Ob aber die falschen brüder dir wolten din gewarsame / das ist din denck
 40 zedel der helgen geschryfft ab fordern oder nemen / das wüssen des rechchten wägs vszrüten mit gespöt vnd abwysen / als dann geschicht so die selben verlasznen hirtten weren dem frummen leyen zü läsen in dem

¹ Bayer, Wb., I, 1546: Letz, Letzen, Letzgen, Lectio, Lection; Aufgabe im Buch für das Schulkind, "Lesung" (Grimm, Wb., VI, 807).

rechten denck zedel der heiligen geschriff / vnd sprechen er soll gar nit
 teutsche bücher läsen / vnd nemen¹ in ein gestryffter ley. Das sind
 auch die hirtten von denen christus seit Luce am .xj. We eüch erfarnen
 des gesats / die do hand hin genommen den schlüssel der wysheit vnd
 erfarenheit vnd sind selbs nit ingangen / vnd die do sind ingangen haben
 irs verboten. Also thünd jetzund vnser geschriff gelerten / sy mögen
 nit liden das ein ley läse tütsche bücher / dar durch er erkenn den wäg
 der ewigen sälligkeit / vnd verbietens täglich. Von denen seit ouch wol
 christus ihesus vnser behalter Mathei am .xij. We eüch schribere
 phariseieren vnd gliszneren / welche do beschliessen das rych der
 hymmel vor den menschen. Nun hat christus hie eygentlich vnsz zu
 verston geben wär gestriffte geheissen soll werden der ley oder die
 gelerten der götlichen geschryfft. Wär woren die gelerten desz gesats
 die phariseier vnd geliszner anders dann gestryfft. Jch wolt gern
 wissen was ein glyszner anders wer dann ein gestryffter / der do eim
 zeigt wisz do es schwartz ist / vnd blow do es grün ist / vnd braun do es
 gäl ist. Also thetten die gliszner vnd phariseier ouch. Si verstünden in
 der geschryfft vnd wusten dz Jhesus christus der war got was / vnd gaben
 den einfältigen das widerspyl für. Also thünd auch jetzund vnser
 gelerten / so sy schon wol wissen den rechten wäg des helgen ewangelis
 vnd der geschryfft / lond sis nit dar by beliben / sunder zeigen vnsz
 blow vnd wisz / grün vnd gäl / vnd machen mancherly stryffen vber
 die wort desz helgen ewangelis / hie mit Aristotelischer vnd Platonischer
 leer / dört mit Poetischen gedichten vnd Philocopischen argumenten /
 hie mit menschlichen satzungen / dört mit erdichten exemplen vnd mār-
 linen / vnd wirt die ewangelisch leer also gestryfft mit diser üppigen
 leer / das sy nit anders sicht / dann als das antlütz Jhesu christi / als er
 ausz dem hausz Pilati gieng / vnd ich gloub das vnsz das ein figur sy
 siner göttlichen leer / das sy ouch also vermoszget² solle werden vnd
 vnerkantlich die ir nit wirdig sind. Jch gloub ouch das sy glichen lon
 werden empfohen mit denen die imm spuwten vnder sein antlütz. Disz
 sind die / von denen Petrus schribt in siner anderen Epistel die do ver-
 lassen den rechten wäg vnd nachfolgen dem propheten Balaam. Vnd
 zū glicher wisz als dz Eselin Balaams in menschlicher stimm redt vnd
 verbot die vnsinnigkeit vnd vnwissenheit des Propheten Balaams. Also
 zū glicher wisz jetzund die leyen stroffend die blindtheit vnd vnwissen-
 heit der priester vnd gelerten / die do verlassen hand den rechten wäg
 desz helgen ewangelis / vnd nachfolgen dem falschen propheten Balaam.
 Doch will ich hie nit gestrofft haben die frummen hirtten (der do wenig
 sind) Aber alle hirtten die do wissen wellen wie sy sich halten sollen
 gegen iren schäfflin die läsen Ezechielem am .xiiij. ca. so finden sy

¹ Nennen.

² Nicht in den Wörterbüchern. Wohl zu moschen = meischen zu stellen. Also so viel als vermischt.

clorlich wz christus von inen fordert / auch wie sy ire schäfflin sollen weiden in dem wort christi / nit in dem roub. Als dann christus selber inen hat ein exempel geben. Als sagt Johan(Bij)nes am .x. ca. Das ein güter hirt soll setzen sin seel für sine schäfflin / als er ouch selb
 5 hat gethon. Nun ein güter hirt sicht gern sine schäfflin feiszt werden / das ist zû nen¹ in göttlicher liebe wiszheit vnd tugenden gegen got vnd sinem nächsten. Er thût ouch tiglich pflantzen die weid der verdorbnen schäfflin (das sind wir armen vnweisen) mit volkomnem läben wie das geschicht oder geschâhen môcht / durch die helge geschryfft oder leer /
 10 vnd mit gûtem Vorbild / das leider etstliche hirtten nit thûnd / von den der prophēt seit als obstat / vnd sich zôigen mit iren Worten vnd wercken / als ob inen glich gult das alle weid / ist leer vnd bûcher verbrēt wurden / vnd inen nûst dest minder ir nutz ingieng vnuersert. Als der götlich mund meldet Matthei imm .xxij. capi. Das sy für grosser
 15 schaden oder sünd achten abgang des opfers dann zerstörung des husz gottes vnd des altars. Nun durch sôliche vntrew vnd verlaszne hirtten ist not das der frumm ley es sy man oder frow sich selbs kôr durch den götlichen rat zû dem glantz vnd schyn göttlicher warnung / vnd sûch rat zû dem nûwen hirtten / ist der verstand der helgen geschryfft / gemelt
 20 in dem obgedachten propheten / den du witer hôren wirst.

§Hie hebt sich an red vnd widerred des Prediger Mûnchs vnd des gestryfften Schwitzer Bauren

ES hat sich begeben das vff ein zyt ein mûnch hat geprediget in einer stat ein gantze fasten vnd hat in allen sinen predigen vnd leer sich erzôigt ein hasser vnd benider aller der die tûtsche bûcher lâsen / vnd hats gar on als mittel für ein grosse
 25 sünd vnd irrsal vnd gar verworffen gehalten / als ob es kâtzeri sy / desz ist bewegt worden ein baur der mit flysz vff sôliche siner verkerung gelost hat dz er im kûnd antwurten zû fûglicher zeit / als dann geschach als bald die zeit der Osteren kam / do fûgt sich der gestryfft schwitzer baur zû dem prediger mûnch vnd redt zû imm dise wort. Herr ir hand
 30 dise fasten eûch hâfftig geûbt an der kantzeln vnd grosz arbeit gehan mit predigen. Der mûnch antwort. Ja wolt got das die menschen sich alle gemeincklich dar von gebessert hâtten / so ruw es mich nit. Der bur antwort / Herr ich wôlt eûch gern etwz frogen vnd mit eûch reden on allen zorn / so es eûch gefellig wâr. Solichs ward imm nach gelassen
 35 von dem mûnch. Do sprach der bur. Herr ir hand geprediget wir sollent das gots wort behalten vnd vnser lâben dar zû ziehen / das wir leren lâben nach sinem willen. Herr so ist not das ich flisz an leg das zû behalten. Darff ich ouch vff schriben ûwer predig dz ich ir nit vergâsz / dann sunst zû behalten ist mir zû schwâr von vyle miner arbeit /
 40 so ichs aber in gschryfft het wurd ichs dester minder vergessen. Der

¹ Druckfehler für: nemen.

münch sprach. Du magst das wol thûn / wan ich nüt geret hab desz ich mich schemen. Fragt der Baur / ob er dôrrft die geschryfft do heim lāsen vor synem huszgesind / das hab nit alle tag mōgen zû seiner predig kummen. Antwort der münch du darfft es wol thûn / vnd dar durch din gesind vnderwysen. Dann ein jetlicher husz vatter ist schuldig sin gesind zû behalten in christenlicher übung mit allem flysz. Sprach der baur. Wann ich das thât so wurden ir sprāchen ich hât teütsche bûcher gelesen / vnd wer nach üwer leer oder red vnrecht. Antwort der Mûnch. Du magst wol schriben vnd lāsen was du von wir hōrst / ist nit vnrecht. Dar ab sich der baur verwundert vnd sprach. Hōrr ich hōr wol das ir eüch vermāssen allein ein lerer der christenheit zû sein. Dann so hätten sich vnützlich geübt / der heilig sant Jheronymus / Augustinus / Ambrosius vnd andere lerer / die do all roten man sōll flysz ankeren zu verston die helgen geschryfft / vnd haben niemand vsz geschlossen / als ir sprechen / der ley sōll nit bruchen in teütscher sprach die helge geschryfft. Ouch lert vnsz sanctus Paulus / das wir christen menschen sōllen durch die geschryfft leren verstan den willen gottes vnd dem nach volgen / die hand ir all tag gewert zû lāsen in teütscher sprach / vnd sprāchen aber ich dôrrf wol etüwer leer in teütsch lāsen / ir hand verkert vyl frummer menschen / die do vermeint haben vff soliche üwer red / sy wellen nit meer teütsche bûcher lāsen / dann sy haben nit gewüst das es so vnrecht sy als ir sagen. Sie haben gemeint wann sie sich vyl bekümmerten mit dem lyden Jhesu christi / vnd von vnsrer lieben frowen / vnd allen heiligen / es wurd in bringen vyl andacht vnd götlicher liebe / dann durch erfahrung wachsz die liebe zû gott / wann sein by wonung ist stercken den geyst. Dann Christus hat selb gesprochen / wo man sein gedenck well er dar by sin. Vnd ir hand das teütsch so fast gescholten / als ob es dem glouben vnd götlicher liebe nit gezām / dar durch dann üwer predigen meer schad ist dann nutz. Antwort der münch. Du legst vyl zû vyl dar vff vnd magst yn diner vernunfft nit verston / darumb hab ichs geret. Der baur sprach. Ich leg nit dar vff hohe vnd subtile künst / als ir bruchen in den syben fryen künsten / die bruchen vyl sinn vnd arbeit nit all zû heil der seel. Der heilig Paulus lert vnsz nit glorieren in der zungen / sunder zû buwen vnd stercken den geist in der kilchen. Jr thûnd gelych als der vntrew hirt tût / so er sieht dz sine schaff gond in güter weid / so vertrit ers mit sinen füßen. Ich müsz euch witer fragen vnd bit eüch ir wellen nit zürnen. So ir priester nun teütsche sprach gar verachten / als ob sy der vernunfft nit gemāsz sy / vnd ouch der göttlich will vor dem leyen sōll beschlossen sin. Frag ich eüch / do got der vatter den ersten menschen Adam beschüff / ob er in nit vollkommenlichen hab beschaffen mit siner vernunfft von stund an die zû brauchen vnd zû offenbaren in einer natürlichen sprach. Antwort der münch. Got der vatter hat Adam also vollkommenlich beschaffen

mit solicher vernunft vnd erkantnusz als sunst keinen menschen der ye
 geboren ward. Fragt der baur / hat nun got den Adam so vollkommen
 beschaffen vnd geben in siner vernunft ein sprach sy zû offenbaren
 sinem somen in ewigkeit / so halt ich / so doch got imm in siner sprach
 5 hab erloubt die vernunft zû bruchen vnd zeûben / so sy es dem leyn
 nit so vnrecht als irs achten. Antwort der mûnch. Du hast aber nit
 in diner vernunft vnd ûbung / das du môgest verston hoch vnnnd subtile
 ding. Der baur sprach. Mag ich aber nit verstan als vyl als Petrus /
 Andreas die do gût einfältig fischer sind gewâsen / welcher vernunft
 10 vnd verstand sy gefûrt hat in die hôhe desz hymmels / so zû fôrchten
 ist das die subtilikeit vyler hochgelerten doctoribus sy hab gefûrt in
 abgrund der hollen. Antwort der mûnch. Jo du magst als vil verston
 als Petrus / so dir got die gnod thût. Sprach der baur. Der gnoden
 gottes müssen wir all gelâben. Jch begâr nit zû studieren in den syben
 15 fryen kûnsten / das ich sûch ist göttliche lieb / vnd erfahrung eines willens.
 Der mûnch frogt den bauren / ob man auch machte doctores in der
 teûschen sprach. Antwort der baur. Es ist war in teûtscher sprach
 macht man kein doctor / Aber in der latinischen sprach krönt man vyl
 esel vsz der täschen on erfahrung desz geist mit grosser hoffart / nit in
 20 solicher demût als vnsz Paulus lert. Nun hören wie Augustinus schrybt
 in einer epistel zû Valentio wie der christenlichen lerer lâben soll sin /
 vnd spricht also. Vnsere lâben soll sin ein spiegel aller menschen / vnd
 ein liecht in der leer des gloubens vnd der warheit / das wir nit allein
 verglicht werden der sunnen sunder auch dem gantzen gestirn. Vnd
 25 zû glicher wysz wie sich ein schyffman regiert durch das gestirn das er
 môg kummen zû einer heylsamen porten. Also zû glicher wysz sollen
 wir armen einfeltigen ouch regiert werden durch (C) vnser geschrifft
 gelerten vnd vnser hirtten. Solten wir aber nachfolgen iren gûten
 wârcken vnd gûtem exempel / fôrcht ich wir wurden kein heilsame pfort
 30 erlangen / sunder in ein wûsten stinckenden hafen faren. Aber wie ire
 wârck / das sind ire stârnen leûchten (ich jech gern wie ein trâck¹ in eir
 laternen) Also gesehen wir armen einfeltigen schâfflin / dann wenig
 göttlicher kunst ist by inen zû sûchen / ich wil geschwigen ein geistlich
 * vorbild zû tragen dasz sie schuldig sind by irem ampt. Jch mein ob ein
 35 solicher blind wurd / er lit dz in ein ley fürte als me beschâhen ist. Als
 dann die helge junckfraw Katherina mit der göttlichen kunst vberwand
 zwen vnnnd fünffzig hochgelerter mânnen / die mit grossem pomp gestu-
 diert hatten. Es ist nit alle kunst der wâg in das hymmelrych / darumb
 ich hoff der gloub mit der liebe sy vber all kûnst vnd die wore thelogy.
 40 Als vnsz das christus an vyl orten anzeigt. Solt dann der gloub göt-
 tliche lieb vnd erfahrung götlichs willens nit geûbt werden / besorg ich es
 wurden wenig lût behalten. Hat der mûnch gesprochen. Jch hab

¹ = Sordes, excrementum, coenum; Wachter, *Glossarium Germanicum*, 304.

besorgt du wurdest dich annemen hohe vnd schwere ding zů erfaren
darumb ich das hab geret / vnd hab nit gemeint dz selbs gewachsne
vernunftt wurd so vyl erkantnusz vberkommen. Der baur Antwort.
Die wil du mich ye fatzen¹ wilt. Sprich ich das Paulus mir vnd dir
verbüt hohe ding zů erfaren / sunder sölle wir allwegen inn der forcht 5
gots ston. zů den Rōmeren am .xj. ca. Auch so ist got ein begaber vnd
teilt ausz eim jetglichen nach siner noturfft als Paulus spricht. Sicht
nit an die person / sähen wir wol in den einfeltigen leyen die er hat
genummen zů zügen desz christenlichen gloubens / vnd nit die erfarnen
der geschriff die allzyt hung² mischen mit gyfft. Darumb lieber brüder 10
wundert mich nit dz der vngotzförchtig priester ist hassen das läsen der
helgen geschryfft in siner sprach / wann göttliche kunst hat dry fyent.
Der erst ist hochfart / des läbens. Der ander / wollust desz lybs. Der
drit tragheit des gemüts vnd erkaltung göttlicher lieb. Durch dise dry
wirt verstanden der hasz von den gedachten hirten über die leyen / vnd 15
hand forcht der ley erfar dz nit gnüg thūn der oberen irem ampt. Dann
wo die dry fient hōrschen in den obren / so hat mangel der ley. Dann
wann von inen geübt wurd die liebe irer vnderthon / vnd geoffenbart
wurd die liebe ires nächsten. Do von Paulus wol schrybt zu den
Rōmeren am ersten .ca. So wurd vns leyen nit verbünstiget³ zů erfaren 20
die helgen geschriff dar vsz der gloub / die hoffnung vnd die liebe
gezweiget⁴ wirt / wann on die dry stafflen mag niemant behalten werden.
Darumb ist not brüderliche liebe / das ein jetlicher mensch dem anderen
vnderwysung gāb als obstat. Der mūnch sprach. Ich mūsz witer mit
dir reden / mir gefalt wol din red vnd der verstand / aber eins gefalt mir 25
nit / das du so vil emblōst vnd vff thūst das laster der oberkeit / vnd in
doch der gwalt ist geben von got / gezimpt dir nit sy also zů straffen.
Antwort der baur. Herr ich gedacht eūch witer zů bewegen. Ist nit
wor / wann einer gewalt hat der lat in nit so lichtlich. Darumb so frag
ich eūch ob der gewalt aller sy geben von got. Antwort der mūnch ja. 30
Der baur. So hōr ich wol / das der vnrecht vnd der gerecht sind glich
in eūch gefestiget. Dz gloub ich nit. Dann do vnser herr jesu Petro
die schlüssel gab zů binden vnd entbinden / hat er imm nit empfolhen
den zů verkouffen vmb gelt vnd dz vppiglich verthūn / als es dann leider
jetz geschicht. So ich aber den ewangelisten vnd zwōlffbotten Mattheum 35
lisz inn siner ewangelischen leer im .x. capitel. So hat der herr
gesprochen / vergābens haben irs empfangen (das ist vsz gnod) vergeben
sölle irs ouch wider hyn geben. Dz lasz ich jetzund rūwen / aber ich

¹ Bayer. Wb., I, 780: durch Scherz und possenhafte Rede jemand zum Besten haben oder Ärgern; Grimm, Wb., III, 1363 ff.

² Hung = Honig.

³ Nicht bei Grimm. Verbünstig adj. misgünstig, neidisch. verbünstigen also = misgönnen.

⁴ Mnd. zwigen, swo: (a) pfpfen, (b) Zweige treiben, (c) erhören. Hier etwa gleich stärken, nähren.

müsz eüch ein glichnusz sagen. So ein gantze gemein in einem dorff
 oder in einer stat einen hirtten zû dem vych bestellt zû hûten vnd (Cij)
 dinget¹ imman er soll das fych mit trûwen weiden das es bald feisz² wârd /
 vnd so sich etwas zyt verloufft / vnd die gemein sicht das / das fych nit
 5 zû nimpt / sunder mager wirt / klagens sie dem obern / der selbig obrer
 ret dann mit dem hirtten von wegen der gemein / dz er das fych basz
 weide oder er müsz vrloub han. Dise trôwung thût ouch gott der vatter
 zû den hirtten durch Ezechielem spricht also. Jch wil eüch heissen
 vffhören / das ir fürbasz nit meer werden hûten miner schâfflin. Darumb
 10 lieber herr verston ich das der vnrecht gewalt nit so sicher geordnet
 ist als der gerecht / und aller zytlicher gewalt ein end nimpt. Der
 münch sprach. Ob aber sölliche widerspänigkeit³ geschâch von schlech-
 ten vnweisen durch grobkeit vnd nit ausz eim solchen grund / was
 bedunckt dich. Der baur antwort. Jch hör leider dz deren so vil sind
 15 die do betrûben vnd verträten die rechte ewangelische leer / aber wenig
 sind der die bekümmern well das abfallen in geistlichen dingen / das
 ich besorg es müsz der vnschuldig der schuldigen engelten als vor meer
 ist beschâhen. Der Mönch: Es ist war / ich hör wol dz noch nit
 vffhören ist zû studieren so die leyen also weit sûchen. Der baur.
 20 Gespôt mag ich liden / aber göttliche kunst zû üben vnd danach zû
 läben / bringt vnsz alles heil der seel vnd lybs / dann wo sy recht
 gebraucht wirt in göttlicher lieb / nit zû rûm vnd zû grosser glory der
 zungen als Paulus schribt / man sôll nit glorieren aber buwen die
 christenlich kirch. Vnd wâr die liebe nit hat / der ist ein hasser der
 25 helgen geschryfft sie sy latin oder teütsch / dann sie wirt nit gewert von
 den liebhaberen gottes / dann das reich gottes ist nit geteilt in imm selber
 spricht got / wann wer got volkummenlich lieb hat / es sy in latin oder
 teütsch / ist imm gût. Wie wol das ettliche vngotzfôrchtigen weren mit
 gespôt vnd falschen argumenten / vnd ist ir forcht dz der ley vernem ir
 30 üppigkeit als obstat vnd werentz vor den schlechten lûten als ob sy es in
 gûtem thûnt / vnd sprechent der ley môgs nit verstan / wir sôllen schlecht-
 lich läben vnd einfeltig sein / als vnsz Paulus leer im andern bûch zû den
 Corintheren das wir sôllen einfältiglich wandlen / vnd wissen die esel
 aber nit das ers den gestrifften verführen vor geprediget hat / die do die
 35 leer christi vnd pauli verachten vnd für ein tandtmâr⁴ halten / vnd wellen
 got sine vrteil vnd willen ab errotten vnd den einfeltigen da mit blenden.
 Warumb thûnd sie aber das / allein darumb das der ley nit verstand wo
 mit sie vmbgangen vnd ir üppigkeit nit an tag kumm / do durch sy dann
 vyl frummer hârtzen zerstören vnd ire gûten schâfflin gantz vnd gar irr
 40 machen / vnd ist das die grôste irrung dz sy inen verbieten die helge
 geschriff in teütsch lâsen / die doch vnsz allen den rechten wâg zeigt /
 die gûten weid die vnsz erneren ist an der seel / vnd das gût wasser das

¹ Dingen = bestimmen, festsetzen.³ = Ungehorsam, Auflehnung.² Feisz = fett.⁴ Posse, Lüge.

vnsz laben ist. Als anzeigt der Prophet Ezechiel / do er spricht. Wee
 eüch hirten an der seel / ir weiden eüch selber / wo werden dann geweidet
 mine schäfflin / dz ist dz gemein volck. Vnd meer spricht er. So ich
 inen zeig die gûten weid / so verträten irs mit tüweren füßen. Das ist
 so er vnsz offenbart die helgen geschriff / vnd sy es weren zû läsen / ist
 das verträten die fruchtbarlich leer vnd vnderwysung. Vnd weren also
 das gût vnd zeigend das bösz mit iren wercken / das ir Vorbild schier ist
 ausz dôren vnd erkelten den glouben vnd göttliche lieb in dem
 schlechten volck. (Dann es ietz ein sprüchwort ist / wer es als sy sagen
 sie thätten es nit selber) Vnd in dem selben trûben wasser werden dann
 getrenckt die armen schäfflin. Darumb spricht wol der herr durch den
 propheten. Jch will eüch heissen vffhören / das ir fürbasz nit me sôllen
 weiden mine schäfflin / vnd will sy ziehen von tüweren handen / vnd will
 inen erquicken einen nûwen hirten David minen knecht / vnd nempt in
 sinen knächt auch sinen sun / dar vmb dz der gût David mit krafft (Ciiij)
 sines gemûts hat sich erkant mit volkommem rûwen / vnd mit allen sinen
 krefftigen göttliche liebe yn imm selbs vff gepflantz / desz hat in erwelt
 Jesus vnser erlöser / das von sinem geschlecht solt geboren werden der
 nûw hirt christus / vnd alle die imm nachfolgen / sind die schäfflin die
 do gehôren in das rych der hymmlen / me so verstond den grossen ernst
 vnd fysz desz helgen Davidts den er táglich hat angekert mit begird vyl
 zû lernen vnd zû wissen den willen gots. Darumb so hoff ich mir sy nit
 sünd ouch vyl zû erfahren der gûten vorgenger / er bit ouch got den
 vatter vyl in sinen psalmen vmb leer und vnderwysung vnd erkantnûsz /
 dz hat er alles gethan in siner eignen sprach. Darumb mein ich / mein
 sprach die mit mir auff gewachszsen ist / sy mir wáger¹ dann ein andere /
 dann die angeborne sprach ist allwegen behártziger. Wár sy aber so
 arg als die verachten vor genempt / so wer David nit so volkummenlich
 verhört Wann sine wort die er gebraucht hat zû bitten / loben vnd zû
 dancken / sind alle dem gemeinen menschen vnergründtlich. Darumb
 wer da spricht dz die natürlich sprach schad sy dar inn zû erfahren das
 gots wort / sâch an den helgen David / vnd volg nun fürbasz dem helgen
 Paulo der vnsz vyl mol lert in sinen sendbrieffen / vnd sunderlich spricht
 er zû den Corinthiern. im .xiiij. ca. Der nit weisz vnd nit wissen wil /
 den wirt got in sinem rych nit wüssen / wann er erzeigt sich sein der
 vnfruchtbar boum / vnd den knecht der dem herren wider gab sin pfund
 vnd das nit braucht in sinen gewin. Darumb welcher seim herren fyend
 ist achtet nit vyl siner eren. Dar by ist wol zû mercken vyl zû fragen
 nach gûter leer ist ein wares zeichen göttlicher liebe / wirt wol verstanden
 durch den helgen iohannem do er spricht. Wár vsz got ist der hért gern
 das gots wort / vnd wár gern dz gots wort hért es sy imm läsen oder an
 der predig der hat got lieb / vnd wár got lieb hat der blibt in got vnd
 got in imm. Nun als ich vor hab gemeldet / dz götliche kunst hab dry

¹ lieber.

fiend mit vyl anhangs di do weren vnd niderlegen das es volkommen-
 lichen geprediget wirt / das doch ein jeder hirt oder pfarrer solt thûn
 an eim suntag oder gebannen¹ fyrtag / vnd sôllen wir das h ren by einer
 todts s nd / vnd sind disz die zwen fyend. Der erst ist der bauren
 5 hochfart. Der ander der pfaffen gytigkeit Der baur h rt gern das man
 im offenbar sin g th t vnd sein hochfart / So hylfft der gydt des pfaffen
 das th n vmb das imm die presentz werd / vnd s cht t glich darinn
 sinen nutz. Wie wol durch s chung eigens nutz vyl rich zerst rt sind
 worden. Jst wol schein gew sen by den gliszneren vnd schriben vnd
 10 ir oberkeit. H tten sy nit besorgt abgang desz zeitlichen g ts / gewalt
 vnd eren / christus w r von inen nit get dt worden. Dar von ret
 christus wol Matthei. im .xxij. do er die acht We vber sy schribt.
 Wie meinend ir aber jetzund wann die leer Martini Luters inen nit
 schaden br cht an gewalt / eren / imm seckel / k ller vnd in der kuchin /
 15 sie wurden nit vyl dar wider reden / wurden ouch vnsz nit verbeiten
 te tsche b cher l sen. Jnen wurd glich gelten ob wir n mmer bychten /
 m sz oder predig horten. Der bapst nem g lt vnd liesz als noch / als er
 dann biszhar gethon hat / vergeben z k nfftige s nd. Dise sind nit
 hirten als Dauid gewesen ist / der do nit hat ges cht sin eignen nutz
 20 sunder grossen flisz an gek rt wie er allzyt m g woll gefallen th n got
 dem herren / vnd allzyt grossen r wen gehabt  ber sine s nd / vnd sinem
 find g ts umb args gethon. Darumb in dann got erh cht hat vnd im
 geben vernunft / wiszheit / g t vnd eer / vnd z  imm gesprochen / du
 bist mein sun ich hab dich h t geboren. Darumb so Dauid in siner
 25 eignen sprach so hoch erle cht ist / bin ich in hoffnung mir s ll mein
 eigne sprach nit verboten sin noch geleidet / dann ich erkenn das allein
 dz h rtz mit gott redt durch gnod / vnd durch vil  bung mit l sen / so
 wachs ouch etwas witer erkantn sz / das ich durch s liche erkantn sz
 m cht kumen z  warer 'iebe / durch die in ein waren r wen / vnd als
 30 g ttliche liebe sterckt den geist / so mag ich dester basz k nnen z 
 einem b szfertigen l ben / desz helff vnsz allen got.

NVn ist mein rat dz der genante ley sich nit lasz ab triben ab der
 helgen geschriff / so sy doch vnsz allen verheissen ist / als ir
 wol geh rt haben von dem propheten Ezechiele in dem .xxiiij.
 35 capitel. Witer so der mensch wil bald kumen z  warer lieb /
 so  b er sich st ts in g ttlicher leer / vnnd hab ein festen glouben vnd
 vertruwen in got vnd in sin wirdige m ter Maria. Dann Christus lert
 vnsz durch den helgen zw lffbotten vnnd ewangelisten Johannem. jm .iiij.
 capitel. Welcher vsz got ist der h rt gern von got reden. Witer spricht
 40 Mattheus. Wo zwen oder dry sind versamlet in minem namen / bin ich
 mitten vnder in. Darumb lassen e ch nit bek mmern / das die hassere
 der te tschen b cher / welche vnsz wisen den rechten w g spr chen alle
 die / die do da heimen in iren h seren irem gesind vor l sen te tsche

¹ = gebotenen; Bayer. Wb., I, 243.

bücher vnd sie vnderwysen vnd leren / es sien winckel prediger vnd sy
 verspotten sprechende es gehörs inen nit zû / das ich inen nit vor übel
 hab / dann sy dick dar durch werden geschandt vnd jetzund me dann
 vor ye beschâhen ist / dann jederman ist jetz geneigt vff tûtsche bücher
 vnd gründtlich alle ding zû erfahren / dz dann jetzund ougen schinlich
 ist / dann man findt jetzund ein leyen der sin ewangelium am suntag
 basz vszwendig weist wann sin pfarrer inwendig lâsen kan. Deszglichen
 wo jetzund ein priester zû den leyen kumpt vnd er gefrogt wirt durch
 ein einfältigen leyen es sy im nûwen oder alten testament / dodurch er
 in solt underwisen / dar vmb er sin narung hat / so sitzt er wie ein gans
 vnd ist der hirt narrechter dann sine schâfflin / vnd werden also zû spot.
 Was thûnd sy aber wann man sy zû vyl fragen will das sie nit verant-
 worten können / sprâchen sy ein narr fragt me dann hundert wysen
 mögen verantworten vnd allegieren Salomonem in Prouerbijs. Nun
 wolt ich gern wissen ob der einfeltig solt frogen oder der wisz. Oder ob
 der narr ein frog thût / die der wysz nit verantworten kan / welcher der
 wysest wâr / sprich ich der froger. Aber durch dyse spotwort spürt
 man wol die fyent der göttlichen kunst. Als vor gemâlt ist. Hie wirt
 ouch wol verstandem / das sie sich allwegen fürchten man sag von yn /
 vnd richt sy ausz mit ir meyerschafft / das doch nit vil gebraucht
 wirt / sunder wo sich vereinen die frummen leyen vnd die got lieb
 habenden menschen. Sie gedencken aber der rechten winckelprediger
 nit / die do schânden vnd lestern die frummen mit den anderen vnd dar
 zû die ordnung der christenheit / das sind die groben vnwissenden leyen /
 die spyler vnd prasser / deren gesellen sy sind in dem spyl vnd by dem
 wyn / vnd wellend sie nit erzürnen. Dyse thûnd gelich als Cayphas vnd
 Annas / die hatten ouch lieb soliche schergel /¹ vff das sie christum desz
 basz verschmächten durch ir hilff / wann aber christus het weilen
 angentz² rechnen / es wâr inen nit also geroten. Das nun der gût ley lot
 bliben. Meer ist zû verston die grobkeit der selben ir gesellen vnd
 schergel / glichen sich den groben vngotzfôrchtigen in der wûsti den die
 hymmel spysz nit gefiel / vnd wunsten allwegen wider in egypten / da zû
 lâben nach lybs lust. Dar by was wol zû verston / das sy nit hatten
 göttliche lieb vnd erkanten nit ire würckung / so sie aber hâttten gehabt
 göttliche liebe / hâttten sy ouch erkant den koch vnnnd die spysz. Jch
 sprich das hymmel brot sy vnsz die helge geschryfft / wann sie vnsz die
 seel spyst / vnd spyset ein ietlichen andechtihen menschen gantz nach
 sinem willen vnd findt dar innen allen trost. Das himmelbrot ist ouch
 gemein gesin. Zû glicher wisz gibt got der heilig geist den verstand
 der helgen geschryfft ausz in al(D)len sprachen / in welcher sy geübt wirt
 in rechter liebe / der findt darinn das imm schmeckt nach allem sinen

¹ Fehlt bei Grimm, Schmeller, Sanders. Hier die winckelprediger; -schergel (scherge, nach Analogie von Büttel, Waibel.

² Angents < angehends. Vgl. Frisch, *Teutsch-Lat. Wb.*, I, 28.

wollen/er findt auch darinn dz recht liecht/er ist ouch gern hören dz
 gots wort. Es ist ouch gar natürlich das ein jetlicher gern hört von dem
 das er lieb hat/wie wol sy sprächen/der ley red er mög nit hören
 predigen/er kön es selb wol läsen/ist nit war/dann ein jeglicher der
 5 gern die helge geschryfft lyst/der hört ouch gern dar von predigen.
 Auch ist dz rych nit geteilt durch der sprach willen. Darumb gloub ich
 in wz sprach got gelobt wirt ist imm angeneh/was do geschicht vsz
 fester hoffnung vnd rechter liebe. Witer so gibt vnsz Paulus ein rot/
 do er schribt zû den Corrinthiern im .xij. vnderscheid. Nit welt
 10 werden kinder in den sinnen/aber sind klein in der boszheit/disz ist
 geret worden wider die da sprechen man soll einfältiglich wandlen/dz
 begryfft allein hie dz wissen/so die menschen wellen wissen/dar durch
 sy geschandt werden. Aber das einfältig wissen des gloubens vnd der
 liebe berürt es nit. Jch wolt gern wissen eb ouch ein grössere liebe wår
 15 dann die natürliche einfeltige zû got vnd grösserer gloub/dann der
 schlächt welcher behart. Witer spricht Paulus. Got will dz ir sine
 gebot wissen/vnd welcher die nit weisz/der wirt ouch nit gewüsz.
 Aber schribt er zû den Rômeren imm elfften vnderscheid Brüder ich will
 nit dz ir nit wissen die heimlichen ding vmb dz ir nit wissen syent by
 20 eûch selber/wann die blintheit ausz einem theil in Jsrahel durch nit
 wissen sy hat verunreinget so lang bisz die volkommenheit der heiden
 in gieng mit schand. Witer schribt Paulus zû den Rômeren im .xv. ca.
 Alles dz geschriben ist/ist geschriben zû vnsrer leer/das wir durch die
 gedult vnd durch den trost der helgen geschryfft habend die zûuersicht.
 25 Got aber der gedult vnd desz trosts/well eûch geben vnder einander das
 selbig zû wissen nach Jesu christo/vff das ir einhälliglich eins mundts
 eren got vnd vatter vnsers herren Jesu christi. Vnd hat in keiner siner
 leer die teütsche sprach vsz geschlossen. Witer spricht er zû den
 Corrinthiern im .xij. Brüder ich wil nit dz ir nit wissen von den geist-
 30 lichen dingen/ir wüssent wol do ir waren heiden nach dem do ir gefürt
 wurden zu den stummenden abgötten zc. Aber lert er vnsz vsz zû rûten
 die vnwissenheit/in dem so er spricht zû den Corinthern im .xij. Do ich
 klein was/do redt ich als ein kleiner/ich wust als ein kleiner/ich
 gedacht als ein kleiner. Aber so ich bin worden ein man/so hab ich
 35 vsz gerûtet die wårck des kleinen. Aber spricht er zû den Galatern
 imm .vj. capitel Wir sollen vyl begeren zû wissen das der selen heyl
 ist/vnd spricht also. Was einer säye/das werd er mägen/¹ (verstand in
 sin vernunft vnd in sein hartz) säien wir flaischliche ding dar in/so werden
 wir flaischliche dar vsz mäien zû vnsrer zerstörliche.² Säien wier aber
 40 geistlich ding dar in/so werden wir geistliche dar vsz mäien zû vnsrer
 seel sâligkeit. Aber redt er zû den Ephesiern im v. ca. Jr sollent nit
 werden truncken von dem win/in dem do ist die vnküschheit. Aber
 werden erfüllt mit dem helgen geist/reden von den psalmen vnd allen

¹ = mähen, ernten.² = Zerstörung, Verderben.

den dingen / die eüch vndewisen mit got sich fröwen in dem spiegel der
 helgen geschrift / wann sy ist vnsz warnen vor allem laster. Aber thüt
 vnsz der Paulus leren so er schrybt zu den Colosenserem im .iiij. ca. Das
 wort christi sol wonen in eüch benüglich¹ in aller wiszheit / lernent vnd
 manent eüch selber alle tag in der helgen geschrift / in den psalmen 5
 vnd in aller geystlicher fröid. Er ist vnsz gar trüwlichen leren vnd
 warnen vnd manen vnser selen heil zü süchen / vnd vnsz nit lassen irren
 die verachter vnd hasser der teütschen sprach / wann der lystig versücher
 ist ein fyand aller dern sich neigen zü dem gütten. Es sind vor meer
 irrungen gewesen vnder den die hand gemeint recht zü leben / aber on 10
 erkantnüz der helgen geschryfft. Als vnder den jungeren sancti Pauli
 zü den Corinthiern am meisten an der ersten sendung. Also dz die (Dij)
 einen satzten iren glauben vff Paulum / die anderen vff Appollo / die
 dritten vff Cephe / die vierden vff christum. Har über ist sin leer vnd
 vor ein frag ob christus geteilt sy oder ob jemandt in Paulo getöufft sy. 15
 Jch sprich das allein ein gloub ist vnd ein touff in allen sprachen vnd
 vnsz gloub recht sy / vnd kein sprach vszgeschlossen / als dann ettliche
 bisz har hast gehört / weren die teütsche sprach. Jch sprich wann die
 teütsche sprach hât ein anfang ausz der sprach die Balaams esel ret / so
 wâr nit ein wunder das mans also verwurff vnnd sprach es wâr ein esels 20
 sprach / wie wol man ouch findt grosz esel in der latinischen sprach / man
 sicht darin leider gar vyl der blinden hirtten. Als der herr spricht. Nun
 ist mein frag. Wie kan ein blind den anderen füren mit sicherheit on
 fallen? Darumb ist not das der ley selbs leer den wâg den vnsz zeigt
 vnsz erlöser das ist christus in sinem helgen ewangely. Aber der wol 25
 gesâhend vnd frumm hirt oder priester gesicht gern dz sine vnderthanen
 solichen flysz hand sich vil zü üben in göttlichen dingen. Disz sind die
 hirtten von denen got redt Matthei am .xv. Jr sind das saltz der erden.
 Die wil aber dz jetzund nit ist / so bedunckt mich not sin das alle
 menschen süchen selbs den nûwen hirtten / ist die heiligen geschryfft die 30
 vnsz tâglich eroffnet wirt vnd vnsz got der vatter verheissen hat durch
 Ezechielem / zü geben ein nûwen hirtten / das ist Daid minen knâcht.
 Ouch spricht er / ich will eüch heissen vffhören das ir fürbasz nit meer
 werden weiden mine schâfflin nach eüch selbs. Wann aber das
 geschâhen soll vnd geschâhen wirt / werden ir bald hören / dann got lot 35
 kein übels vngestrofft vnd kein gûts vnbelont. Es ist aber ein gemein
 sprüchwort wann die geiz wol stot so scharret sy. Wol spricht der
 küniglich prophet Daid imm .xlvij. psalmen. Do der mensch in ernen
 was hat ers nit erkant vnd ist glichförmig worden den thieren. Dar by
 so nemendt war ir hirtten vnd geistlichen prelaten in was ernen vnd 40
 würden ir sind / vnd wie ir bisz har gelâpt haben / das nit diser spruch
 an eüch erfüllt werd / dann die geylheit vnd hochfart hat vber wachszsen

¹ Fehlt bei Grimm. Gleich benügilg = contentus, modestus, vergnügt, genügsam; Grimm, *Wb.*, I, 1477.

die demütigkeit / vnd die verlassenheit die gerechtigkeit / vnd leit der
hirt vnd schlafft. Darumb ist not das got selbs zû sinen schäfflin lûg /
als er dann spricht durch Ezechielem. Jch will selbs weiden mine
schäfflin / vnd will eûch heissen vffhören / wz es eûch nit gnûg ir assen
5 die milch vnd wurden bedeckt mit der wollen / ist zu verston / sy niessen
die arbeit der vnderthonen vnd werden bekleidt von inen / darumb solten
sy vnsz tûglich mit dem aller höchsten flysz leren vnd vnderwysen mit
worten vnd mit wercken / mit einem gûten vorbild / nit imm spyl / nit
imm weinhusz / die ersten in aller ûppigkeit / vff das durch ir gût vorbild
10 der einfeltig ley ouch gûts môcht von inen lernen / wo derselb nit wol
kônd verston die leer vnd predig / so kônde er sich aber besseren
ab dem gûten wandel der oberen. Dann wo wort vnd wâreck gleich
weren / do wûchs ein starcker gloub vnd ein vollkommene liebzy.
Aber so von inen nit wirt gesehen das lâben nach den worten / so
15 schwachet der gloub vnd reûcht¹ vsz götliche vnd brûderliche liebe. An
dem allen hand sie nit gnûg / sie weren mit gespôt den frummen leyen
in zû gon vnd machen ein nûwen verkerten / vnd so sy in gemachen /
machen sy in ein kind des hõllischen flammen. Darumb minen lieben
brûder vnd schwesteren will ich eûch ermant haben / das ir eûch nit
20 wellen lassen abweisen von allem dz eûch fûrt zû götlicher liebe vnd desz
nâchsten. Hûten eûch vor inen / es sind die wõlff von denen der gött-
lich mund redt Matthei im vij. vnderscheid. Jn iren frûchten werden ir
sy erkennen. Das sind auch die von den do redt der wysz man imm
bûch der sprûch im ersten vnderscheid. Sie werden niessen die frûcht
25 irer tag. Witer spricht er. Der frûchten sins mundts wirt ein jetlicher
erfûlt. Kônen ir nun (Dij) wol mercken was dyse frucht bringen / es
sy mit dem mund oder mit den wercken / ouch wie sie ir geniessen
werden ersetiget vnd erfûlt / lasz ich jetz bliben / sie müssen rechnung
geben für ire schäfflin.

30

DER BESCHLUSZ²

N^{Vn} mein vszerwelten brûder vnd schwestern / ir hand nun gehört
red vnd widerred zwischen mir vnd dem prediger mûnch. Vnd
haben vnder allem gehört / dz sein ernstliche meinung ist kein ley soll
teûtsche bûcher lâsen / wann sie imm bringen hindernûsz am glouben /
vrsach wir môgens nit verston. Dar zû sag ich also. Christus Jesus
35 vnszer schöpffer erlôser vnd behalter / hat vnsz geben zwo leer / durch
welche wir môgen gon in dz rych der hymmel / finden ir Matthei im
.xxij. vnderscheid / do auch dyser glyszner einer (als noch vyl vff erden
sind) kam zû dem herren Jhesu / sprechende. Meyster was ist das
grôst gebot yn dem gesatz. Antwort der heer. Hab lieb dinen got vnd
herren / vsz gantzem hârtzen / vsz gantzer seel / vnd ausz allen dinen

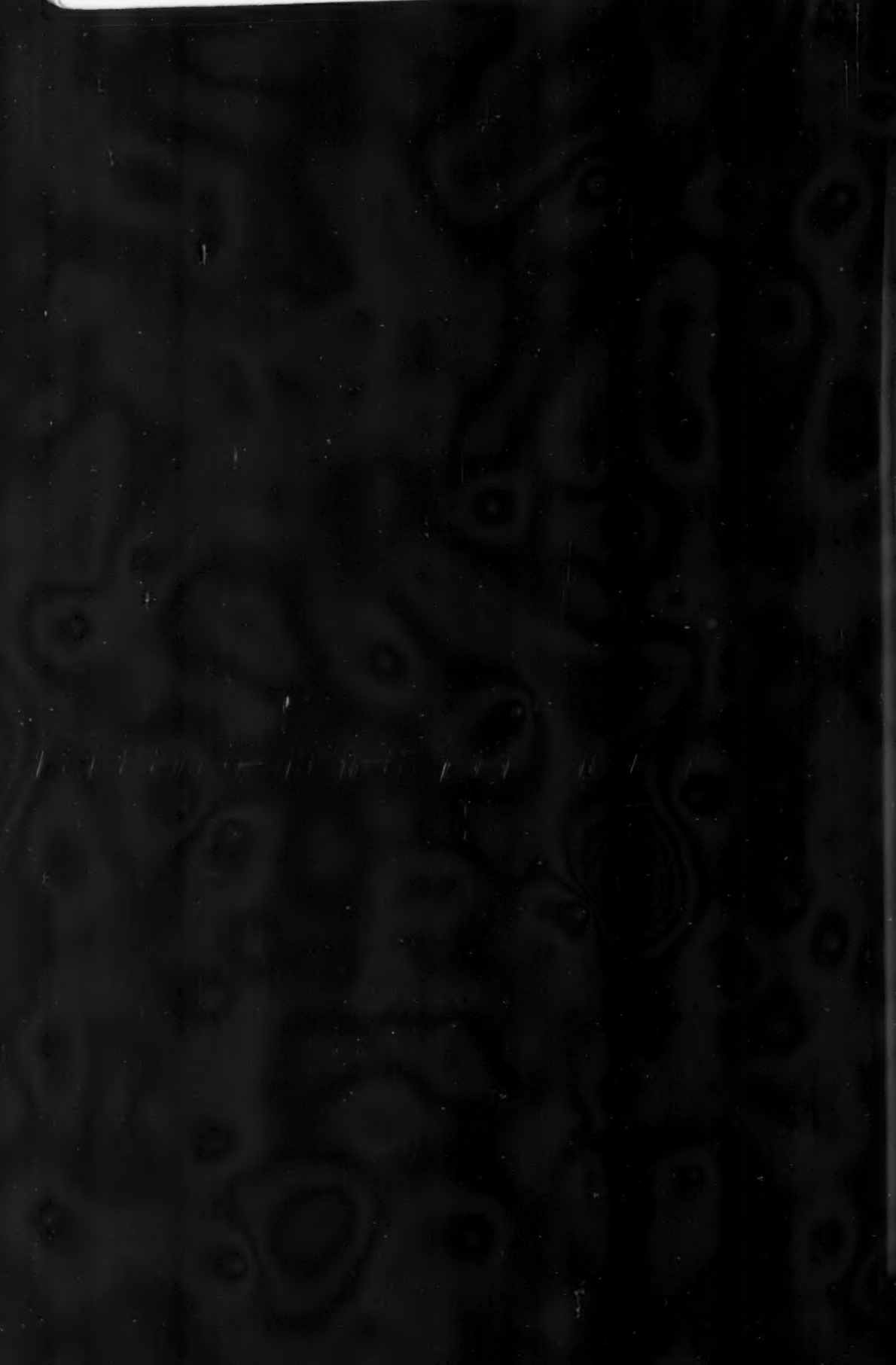
¹ Rauchen, Grimm, *Wb.*, 8, 245: fumigare = räuchern, dim. von râuchen.² Original: beschlusz = Druckfehler.

krefft. Vnd hab lieb din nächsten als dich selbs. In den zweien
 stücken stot das gantz gesatz vnd vnser behaltnusz.¹ was wend wir dann
 witer fragen. Wz dörffen wir grosse künst erfahren. Was bedörffen wir
 grosser doctores dar zû / die ir zyt vertriben haben in menschlichen satzun-
 gen. Vil seckel canones allegieren. Das ist min rot erfar sich ein jeglichs
 selbs in disen zweien stücken. vnd werd imm dar inn selbs ein doctor /
 dz ist dz höchst doctorat / welches got selbs krönt es darff nit vil dis-
 putierens noch arguwierens dz ich lasz jetzund also bliben / ich will in
 minen sendbriefen so ich schriben wird zû Hans knüchel von knutwil
 witer dar von schriben. Aber witer ermant vnsz sant Paulus zû den
 Corinthiern vnd spricht also. Eim jetlichen wirt gegeben die offenba-
 rung des geists zû siner nutzbarkeit. Eim gibt er den geist der wiszheit /
 dem anderen den geist der kunst / etlichen die gnad der gesuntheit vnd
 sterck / etlichen die wärck der tugent / vnd sind der goben vyl on zal do
 mit er die menschen begobt. Aber vnder denen sind ettlich / den gybt
 er den geist des gloubens / das ist die erkantnusz seins göttlichen willens.
 Nun wo ein rechter gloub ist do ist ouch die ware lieb. Mit diser gob
 hat er sunderlich meer begabt die einfältigen vnd demütigen / dann die
 hochfertigen / hochgelerten vnd nasz wisen. Desz gybt vnsz gezeügnusz
 Abraham. Geñ .xv. Luce .x. Die junckfraw Maria. Centurio. Matthei
 .viij. Jona .j. Regum .xiiij. Daud .j. Regum .xviij. Aza. Paralipomenon.
 .xiiij. Machabeus .j. Machabeorum .iiij. Josaphat. Paralipomenon .xx. Nee-
 mias. Neemie .iiij. Dry kinder. Dañ .iiij. Deszglichen so finden wir.
 Matthei am .xxj. Marci. am .xj. was got denen zû seit / welche eins
 rechten gloubens sind. Der wassersüchtig bezeügt dz ouch Luce .v. Dz
 Chananeisch fröwlin. Matthei .xv. das fröwlin dz do beschwärt was mit
 irer krankheit. Luce .viij. Deren on zal ist / mir hie zû vyl erzelen. Darumb
 lieben brüder lond eüch nit bekümmern das sy sagen wir verstandens
 nit / der geist desz gloubens vnd der liebe wirt nit eim eiglichen ver-
 lichen nach der leer sancti Pauli. Aber aller meist den die do sind eins
 einfeltigen demütigen hartzens. Welchen geist vnsz ouch verlyhen
 wöll Jesus christus der am krütz sin blüt für vnsz vergossen hat / vnd
 gestorben / das wir wider läbendig wurden. Dem sy lob vnd danck
 geseit in ewigkeit. Amen.

ERNST VOSS 35

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

¹ Luther übersetzt: "und die Propheten." Vgl. Grimm, *Wb.*, I, 1324, unter "behaltenis." Hier wohl Rettung, Erlösung, Befreiung.



THE COMEDIA RADIANA OF AGUSTÍN ORTIZ

INTRODUCTION¹

Agustín Ortiz and his *Comedia intitulada Radiana* have been known to bibliographers since the publication of the *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, in 1834-36, where it is mentioned in Part VI, under number 2818, *Poesias Espagnoles*. This collection contained fifty-nine detached pieces bound in one volume, the twenty-fifth of which was the *Comedia Radiana por Augustin Ortiz*. When Schack² became acquainted with the work, it had passed into the library of Henri Ternaux-Compans, at Paris. Later it is to be found in the *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá*, No. 1337, where a description of the print and an adequate synopsis of its contents are given. Salvá had the play rebound separately, and in this form it made its way through the library of Heredia (*Catalogue* No. 2313) to the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, where it is now catalogued as R-5006.

Nothing is known of the life of the author,³ and no other work bearing his name has come down to us.⁴ The only known copy of the play is without date or place of printing, but the text itself offers valuable material for fixing its date. In lines 8 ff. of the *introyto* it is made clear that the King is in need of soldiers for an expedition against the Moors, and in ll. 17-30 a single individual

¹ I wish to acknowledge my particular indebtedness to Professor Karl Pietsch, upon whose time and vast store of bibliographical material I have been privileged to draw freely during the preparation of this work. My gratitude is due likewise to Professor T. A. Jenkins for valuable criticism on the notes and the Introduction as they were being prepared for the press. To them and others of my instructors belongs much of the credit for this study; any faults to be found in the choice of subject, arrangement of material, and conclusions drawn are wholly my own.

² *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien* (1845-46), I, 195, note.

³ In the *Bibliotecas Antigua y Nueva de Escritores Aragoneses de Latassa aumentadas y refundidas* . . . por Miguel Gomez Uriel (1884-86) is found the following: "Ortiz (Don Agustín). Este escritor, á quien con algunos sólidos argumentos se puede suponer que nació en Aragón, escribió y dió á luz, quizás por los años de 1525, en Zaragoza, una obrita con este título: *Comedia intitulada Radiana*." This statement is based wholly on a supposition, which is commented on later, found in article 1337 of the *Catálogo Salvá*.

⁴ The anonymous *Comedia Clariana* is assigned to Ortiz in Mérimée's *Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole* (1908), p. 198. On the authorship of this piece see Barrera, *Catálogo del Teatro Antiguo Español* (1860), pp. 298, 535.

is the object of a series of imprecations. Although the enmity of the Spaniards toward the Moors was long continued, there were, during the time to which our play might reasonably belong, but two periods when such references would be particularly appropriate. The first was during the period of preparation for the expedition mentioned below against Tunis, the second during the two years preceding the attempt to capture Algiers in 1541. Against the theory that the play falls within the second of these periods may perhaps be urged the rudimentary plot of the play itself, which leads one to place Ortiz among the earlier imitators of Torres Naharro, and the more convincing evidence indicating that the work was printed before that time.

The events of the first period are given in sufficient detail for present purposes in Edward Armstrong's *The Emperor Charles V* (1902), I, 268 ff., from which the following citations are made. Charles had reached Spain

in April 1533, and ever since had given his main attention to the North African problem which he had hitherto almost set aside, but which imperatively claimed an immediate solution.

When the elder Barbarossa was killed in 1518, his younger brother was made Bey, and a piratical war was carried on largely in the eastern Mediterranean.

Barbarossa took advantage of the Franco-Imperial conflict in Italy to create a strong North African territory with Algiers as its capital. . . . Availing himself of palace crimes in the weak native dynasty of Tunis under pretext of aiding the dispossessed king, he conquered the town, strongly fortified the territory, and, as at Algiers, extended his power far into the Interior (1533). . . . No feat could be more welcome to Charles's Spanish and Italian subjects than a crusade for the conquest of Tunis, and upon this the Emperor therefore set his heart. . . . Charles sailed from Barcelona on May 30, 1535. All Spain in its enthusiasm seemed to converge on the Catalonian port; all classes, and both sexes, strove to get aboard the ships.

The conditions here described are such as would naturally give rise to the reference in our play. Barbarossa was well known to the Spaniards, and there was a widespread interest in the expedition

against him. A line or two in passing might have been insignificant, but our author would scarcely have dwelt at such length on his subject unless he had a point to make. In the light of the general interest in a popular campaign that would naturally be aroused in a political center like Valladolid, his purpose becomes apparent. The play must then have been written not earlier than 1533 nor later than 1535.

The most convincing document on the date of printing is the *Cancion hecha por luys del castillo* (Cat. Salvá, No. 12), which reads in the colophon: "Fuy impresso en La muy | noble villa de Medina del | campo en Corral de buyes. | Año de MD&XXXV." Three of the four woodcuts on the title-page of this *cancion* are found among the ten figures that appear on the title-page of *Radiana*; and these cuts, which would soon show the effects of wear, are in about the same condition in the two works. The type, moreover, seems to be the same, and the manner of setting (punctuation, ornamentation, etc.) is identical.¹ Pérez Pastor² accounts for but one printer in Medina del Campo after 1532 and before 1541, Pedro Tovans, "impressor de libros que biue á corral de bueyes 15XXXIIIj." I was not able to place side by side with *Radiana* for careful comparison a book bearing the name of this printer. It is not impossible that a competitor whose name has not come down to us was established in the Corral de Bueyes; yet all the existing documents are in favor of Tovans. Salvá likewise does not hesitate to assign to him the edition of the *Cancion de Luys del Castillo* mentioned above.

It is not without importance for the date of printing that *Radiana* formed part of a large volume of originally separate works that seem to belong to the same period. The titles in this volume are listed in the *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Vol. VI, No. 2818. Only five of the works are dated. These are, No. 9 (1535); No. 54 (1537); No. 56 (1535); No. 58 (1536); No. 59 (1534). No. 7 is entitled *Coplas*

¹ In the *Catálogo de Salvá*, No. 1337, under *Radiana* is the following statement: "El ser las laminillas de la portada iguales á las empleadas en la *Tesorina* y *Vidriana*, induce á creer esté impresa por el mismo y tal vez en Zaragoza." The author of these plays, Jayme de Guete, is of Aragonese origin, as he states on the title-page of *Tesorina*, but I see no reason for thinking that his plays were printed in Saragossa.

² *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo* (1895). The quotation is taken from article No. 6.

por Alonso de Toro Coxo, sobre la abundancia del Vino que Dios ha dado en el año de XXXI y en el año de XXXII, and this refers, I presume, to the years 1531 and 1532. If the history of this volume were known, one would probably find that it was formed within a short time after the latest date mentioned. It would not only have been very difficult to bring together even a decade later the fifty-nine pieces mentioned under the number cited, but it is improbable that a late collection of such varied content would have shown so little variation in date.¹

The language of the author is Castilian. The dialect put into the mouths of the shepherds had become too artificial to assume that it represents the peasant speech of the writer's province, and I have not been able to attach with any certainty to one locality the names of the saints mentioned. It is of no significance that Bilbao is named in l. 1458, but the two references to Valladolid (l. 38 and ll. 89 ff.) where Juanillo places himself by saying, "Aquí me han burlado," furthermore, the knowledge of the city shown in ll. 37 and 48, and finally, the printing of the play in the neighboring city of Medina del Campo, all lead to the conclusion that the author was living in or near Valladolid when he wrote this play.

Radiana forms one of a group of plays already classified by Schack,² Menéndez y Pelayo,³ and others, as direct imitations of Torres Naharro and the *Celestina*. While but little of the content of these plays comes from other sources than the *Celestina*, the plays of Encina, and especially those of Torres Naharro, and while the form is wholly that of the latter author, insufficient stress has been laid on the fact that a very definite type of love and intrigue comedy that was essentially different from these models was developed before or during the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. When this type was once formed, the individual plays owed more to the other works of the group than they did to their prototypes. Until the

¹ A similar collection in Munich described by Ferdinand Wolf (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Phil.-Hist. Class. [1852], VIII, 114 ff.) bears dates ranging from 1547 to 1554. One statement of Wolf (p. 116) is of interest here: "Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, das solche für das Volk geschriebene und von dem Volke dargestellte Stücke von geringerem Umfange, gleich den fliegenden Blättern durch Verbrauch und Nichtbeachtung dem Verderben preisgegeben, sich in nur sehr geringer Anzahl erhalten haben."

² *Op. cit.*, I, 195.

³ *Estudio Preliminar* to the *Propaladia*, pp. cxlvi ff.

chronology of the period separating Torres Naharro and Lope de Rueda is somewhat settled, it cannot be known what authors were chiefly influential in the development of the type.

Beyond the general resemblances already indicated, I have noted the following details illustrating Ortiz' indebtedness to his predecessors.

The first act of *Radiana*, which Cotarelo y Mori¹ calls useless, appears to have been inspired by the lament at the beginning of Gil Vicente's *Comedia del Viudo*.² While there is but little verbal similarity between the two passages, their extreme likeness in other respects makes it seem improbable that they are of independent origin.

Torres Naharro's *Himenea* must have exerted a direct influence on *Radiana*. Turpino's conversation with Marpina, ll. 358 ff., is wholly in the manner of that between Boreas and Doresta (*Propaladia* II, 45-48, *Libros de Antaño*), and when Turpino says, "Si vienen diez, que mi espada los despierte el morir," the author has in mind a passage earlier in *Himenea* (p. 19) where Eliso says, "Vengan diez, cuerpo de Dios, Que no se irán alabando" (cf. note to ll. 383-85). In both plays, likewise, the successful lovers reward their servants in much the same manner (cf. ll. 932 ff., and note). Lireo's plot to catch the lovers was probably suggested by that of the marquis in *Himenea*, while Cleriano, like Himeneo, averts the tragedy at the critical moment by proving himself an eligible suitor. It would be unwise to insist too strongly on a direct influence between these plays in each case of general resemblance between scenes which, by their very nature, must abound in all drama of intrigue, yet, taken as a whole, the similarities noted form conclusive evidence that Ortiz was well acquainted with the *Comedia Himenea*.

Shepherds with their horseplay and coarse jests were stock characters of the Spanish drama of the early part of the sixteenth century. Torres Naharro used them rather sparingly, but it is evident that the *hortelanos* in his *Comedia Aquilana* furnished material for one of the shepherd scenes in *Radiana* (cf. l. 760, note).

Lastly, Ortiz followed Torres Naharro in his liking for the popular

¹ *Estudios de Historia Literaria de España* (1901), p. 198.

² For evidence that separate plays of Vicente were in circulation before the publication of his collected works, see A. L. Stiefel, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXIX (1907), pp. 192 ff.

proverb. Several of the proverbs common to both are cited in the notes (cf. ll. 93, 323, 401). The list of these parallels is not intended to be exhaustive, and I have given them merely to show the method of the earlier author continued in the later.

The literary merits of *Radiana* are small. The author's diction is often obscure, his verse lacks elevation,¹ and too often his choice of words seems guided by the needs of the rhyme rather than by the sense. Very little originality is displayed in the creation of characters or in the construction of the plot, and the comic devices² are merely commonplaces of the time. Yet because of his lack of originality, Ortiz was all the more fitted to construct a play that is characteristic of the period to which it belonged. Thus, in spite of its mediocrity as a piece of literature, the light that *Radiana* may throw on other dramatic works of the period seems to justify the labor of an apprentice in bringing out this new edition.

The strophe form, counting one final unaccented syllable, is 4a—8a—8b—8a—8b. Acts I and III begin with five full octosyllabic lines rhyming a—b—a—a—b. At the commencement of Acts II and IV the short line is omitted, as also between ll. 1343–44 and 1372–73.

Unlike Encina and Torres Naharro, Ortiz took great liberties with the short line. Hiatus is especially frequent, and the rhyme-accent often falls on the fourth syllable. For these reasons I have not taken this verse into account when treating questions of meter.

In regard to vowel combinations within the word, but few points need be noted. In the inflectional endings of the imperfect and conditional *ía*, is monosyllabic in the following cases: *teníamos* 722, *decía* 778, *avía* 837, *removía* 1176, *oya* 1227, *havía* 294. The old monosyllabic *ie* is found in *avie* 716 and in *hazie* 784. *Ea* is monosyllabic in *sea* 1271, 1332; in *trae(s)* 125, 808, 851; *traere* (unaccented) 1453; in *reales* 707; and in *eal* 739. *Diabros* 661, 721, 867, 1077, 1080, 1390, 1440, contains a monosyllabic *ia*, contrary to the usage at this time as found by Robles.³ *Cleriano* is trissyllabic in l. 112, but elsewhere *ia* is always dissyllabic in *Cleriano* and in *Radiana*.

¹ Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *Estudios de Historia Literaria de España*, p. 198.

² Cf. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Advertencia to the Comedia Tibalda of Perálvarez de Ayllón and Luis Hurtado de Toledo* (1903), p. ix.

³ *Ortología Clásica de la Lengua Castellana* (1905), § 520.

Elision before initial *h* from Latin *f* in an accented syllable is rarely permitted. The only examples are 699, 1212, 1486. The first of these is easily corrected, and the last is a repetition of the refrain of 1477 and 1479 with an additional introductory *que*. Some ten elisions are found with an unaccented vowel. About forty lines show hiatus between vowels. Many of these cases are accounted for by rhetorical pauses within the line (cf. 34, 473, 834, 1131). Of purely metrical nature, however, is the desire to separate two accented syllables. This effort to keep intact what Morel-Fatio¹ calls the *mouvement binaire*, is here strongly marked for all parts of the line (cf. 213, 326, 1276, 1327, 1446). In *El Mágico Prodigioso* the hiatus is used to separate the last two accented syllables of the line only. Yet our author's system is not perfect, for rare instances are found (cf. 414, 978, 1262) where accents are brought into contiguous syllables by elision. A few lines remain in which hiatus must be ascribed to poetic license (cf. 472, 1005).

When all possible allowances have been made for hiatus and elision, there still remain a few incorrect lines. No emendations based on faulty meter alone have been introduced into the text, but attention has been called to deficiencies, and such changes as seemed worth while have been suggested in the notes.

The rhyme word is often repeated; cf. *reues:reues* 167-69, *suerte:suerte* 226-29, as also 473, 703, 834, 1238, 1468. Assonances occur in *gente:entre* 143-45, *pies:diez* 381-83, *tres:diez* 825-26, *respingo:digo* 1116-18, *alguno:culo* 1384-86. Such cases as *Valladolid:alli* 38-40, *Turpino:maligno* 276-78, *paresce:acaece* 1294-95, *es:perdoneys* 1348-49 fail to accord in spelling only. Many of the rhymes were distorted by the printer, but fortunately the needed correction was generally evident.

In the treatment of the text I have tried to be conservative. The orthography of the original is reproduced without change, but the printer's abbreviations (the most common one being the bar over a vowel to indicate the omission of a following *n*) have been resolved. In the old print the names of the speakers were represented by a single letter or at most two letters. These have been somewhat expanded for the sake of easier recognition. Beyond these changes no letter

¹ Cf. Morel-Fatio, *El Mágico Prodigioso* (1877), pp. lvii ff.

which is not duly indicated has been intentionally added to, or taken from, the text. Evident errors have been corrected, but nothing has been assumed to be wrong for which justification could be found. Words or letters inclosed within brackets are additions of the editor. Other faulty readings have been relegated to the notes when it has seemed possible to restore, with some degree of certainty, the author's text. Punctuation is almost wholly lacking in the original, and words are joined or separated in a chaotic manner. The changes that have been made in the division of words for the sake of clearness or uniformity have been indicated only in doubtful cases. The text is here punctuated in accordance with my interpretation of its meaning. Naturally, cases are to be found where a different interpretation is possible.

Words and meanings not to be found in the latest edition (1899) of the dictionary of the Spanish Academy have been treated in the notes, but inflectional forms of the sixteenth century which are easily found in treatises on historical grammar have generally been passed without notice. The lack of critical texts and adequate dictionaries has made the explanation of dialect material difficult and uncertain. I have, however, attempted to explain every serious difficulty, and even where I was far from satisfied with the result, have offered suggestions that are open to criticism in the hope that they may aid another to succeed where I have failed.

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------|----------|-----------|
| LIREO ¹ | RICRETO | RADIANA | MARPINA | CLERIANO |
| TURPINO | GIRADO ² | PINTO | JUANILLO | SACRISTAN |

COMEDIA INTITULADA RADIANA

compuesta por Agustín Ortiz, en la qual se introduzen las personas siguientes: primeramente vn cauallero anciano llamado Lireo y su criado Ricreto, y vna hija deste cauallero llamada Radiana y su criada Marpina, y vn cauallero llamado Cleriano y su criado llamado Turpino, y tres pastores Girado³ y Pinto y Juanillo, y vn Sacerdote. Repartese en cinco jornadas breues y graciosas y de muchos enxemplos. Entra Juanillo⁴ con el introyto y dize:

¹These names appear in the order given above the wood-cuts which represent the characters in the play. A reproduction of the title-page below the cuts is to be found in the *Catálogo Salvá*, No. 1337.

²*Sirado*.

³*Lirado*. This correction has been noted already by Salvá (*Catálogo*, I, 473). With the exception of the two spellings on the title-page, the name is written *Girado*, *Jirado*, or *Xirado*.

⁴In the plays of Torres Naharro the speaker of the prologue does not reappear on the stage; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudio Preliminar to the Propaladia*, II, xcvi.

INTROYTO

[Fol. 1v]

- Juan. Sant Silbestre
 y el macho del acipreste
 decienda sobre vosotros,
 y el su bordon vos atieste
 5 y os de paz con sus quillotros;
 si cudiera
 que tanta gente estouiera.
 O prega a el alto Dios
 de hazer ora siquiera
 10 que parays cada una dos;
 porque aya
 harta gente con que vaya
 nuestro rey contra llos moros,
 y con su gran atalaya
 15 llos acose como a toros,
 y bien huerte;
 y para que den la muerte
 aquel traydor can cerbero
 que nos trata de tal suerte
 20 (el bellaco majadero
 hendo daños)

2. This line may allude to the poem of Juan de Mena, "Sobre un macho que compró de un archipreste." Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, I, 287-90.

2. *dela cipreste* (sic). *Acipreste* is a form often found in older Spanish. For example of this period see Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II (1900), 8, "Quiero her un acipreste."

4. *el*. Archaic at this time in Castilian; cf. Gessner, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVII, 333.

4. *vos*. Archaic also; cf. Gessner, *op. cit.*, XVII, 4.

5. *quillotros*. Cf. *quillotre*, 732 and 851; *quillotrazo*, 733. For a discussion of this intranslatable word see the vocabulary to Cañete's edition of Lucas Fernandez, *Farsas y Églogas* (1867).

6. *cudiera*. The infinitives *cudar* and *cudiar* are found beside *cuidar*. The e-preterite of *cudiar* would give *cudíamos*, *cudiestes*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés* (1906), p. 53, and Navarro Tomás, "El Perfecto de los Verbos -ar en Aragonés Antiguo," *Revue de Dialectologie Romane*, I, 110 ff. *Cudiera* must have developed by analogy to these forms of the preterite.

8. *prega* = *plega*; cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones Críticas sobre el Lenguaje Bogotano*, 5th ed., §731.

8. a *el*. Cf. Keller, *Historische Formenlehre der spanischen Sprache* (1894), p. 29, and Bello-Cuervo, *Gramática Castellana*, 11th ed., §272, note.

13. *llos*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, pp. 31-32.

14. *atalaya* = army, a meaning not found in the dictionaries.

18. *aquel* = *á aquel*; cf. Fitz-Gerald, *Versification of the Cuaderna Vía* (1905), pp. 49 ff.

21. *hendo* = *haciendo*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 68.

- 25 y Dios le de malos años
al bellaco engañador,
y para cegar sus caños,
Dios nos de huerte favor.
- Ver do corre
aquello con que socorre
a la seta que a tomado,
y duna muy huerte torre
- 30 le veamos nos colgado.
Que hareys
si os digo con que holguezs
con prazeres muy tamaños?
Escucha, entendereis;
35 assi os de Dios buenos años.
- Yendo vn dia
junto ala pasteleria,
passando en Valladolid
dos por dos en romeria,
- 40 vi que vienen por alli,
muy en hiestas,
dessas putas rabetiestas
que saben muchos refranes,
y muy bestidas de fiestas.
- 45 Llas lleuauan dos rufianes.
Va en concierto
que las dexan ala puerta
del Campo junto a su casa.

27. *aquollo*. Misprint for *aquello* = á *aquello*.

32. *li for si*. Misprint or broken type, as also in l. 293.

34. *escucha*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual Elemental de Gramática Histórica Española*, 2d ed., §115 (3).

37. With the means at hand I have not been able to locate the *pastelería* of the early sixteenth century. Time or the disastrous conflagration of 1561 may have driven it to new quarters. The following passage from a print of 1739 is perhaps immaterial but not uninteresting. Don Eusebio and Don Jacinto had entered Valladolid "por la puerta del Campo grande." The next morning they went sightseeing: "luego fueron á la Plazuela Vieja, donde despues que por su dinero, comió cada uno un panecillo de zaratán, y una torta de leche, se tragarón con los ojos un millar de ellas, porque en aquel sitio son apetecibles á los satisfechos, qué hará á los hambrientos?"—Antonio Muñoz, *Aventuras en Verso y Prosa* (ed. Baist 1907), p. 35.

42. *rabe tiestas* = *rabituestas*. For *tiesto* see the vocabularies to Lucas Fernandez, and to Rouanet, *Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del Siglo XVI* (1901). Interchange of *pre-tonic e* and *i* is frequent: *implea* (200), *inuesible* (291), *intincion* (365), *ceuil* (871, 1405), etc.; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §16.

48. "Atravesada ésta que pudiéramos calificar de *ante-ciudad* y un puentecillo sobre el Esgueva, introduce á la población un arco titulado de *Santiago* y sustituido á la antigua puerta del Campo."—José Quadrado, *Valladolid, Palencia y Zamora* (1885), pp. 14–15.

- 50 Hutras ellas boca abierta,
 callente hecho una brasa,
 yo yua alla.
 Vino la una hazia ca
 llamando me con señuelas.
55 Yo, contento della ya,
 lleuola a las callejuelas.
 Por San Pego,
 vino la bellaca luego,
 antes que yo començasse,
60 mas encendida quel fuego,
 diziendo que la pagasse
 en buen dinero,
 "o pesete a Sant Ceruero,
 pues hagamos la hazienda."
 Dixo ella, "par Dios, primero
65 me daras dinero o prenda."
 Por mi mal
 le di en prendas un real,
 y luego empeço a dar gritos.
 Con su espada y su puñal
70 vino vno de sus espritos
 para mi,
 y dixola: "Vos dezi,
 que os a hecho este villano."
 Dixo ella: "Trajo me aqui,
75 y ora haze del tirano."
 Vino el,
 saca su espada y broquel,
 y hazeme treynta fieros
 que me quebrara la hiel,
80 o le diesse mas dineros.
 Dile poco.
 De vn ducado dio me troco

[Fol. 2r]

49. *Hutras*. If the form is correct, this is for *fui tras*; cf. Gassner, *Das altspanische Verbum* (1897), p. 182. This form for *ser* is found in Torres Naharro, *Propaladia I* (1890), p. 225; "Quando yo hu viñadero," and in the *Recopilacion* de Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, II (1886), p. 26: "Luego yo hu la engañada." A preposition would give a smoother reading here, and we may have a printer's blunder for something like the "*y tras esto*" of l. 106.

52. *ca* = *aca*.

55. *callejuellas*. A misprint.

64. *par*. Cf. Cornu, *Romania*, X, 93-95.

70. *espritos*. This form is found several times in Rouanet, *Autos . . . del Siglo XVI*; cf. Vocabulary.

- 85 para beuer vn chinflon,
 y dixo: "Anda para loco.
 Nos arroje vn bofetón."
 Ves aqui;
 beui el vn marauedi,
 tengo otro para altramuces.
 Vome de Valladolid
90 otro día entre dos luzes
 sin cornado.
 Aqui me an burlado;
 mas dize aculla el refran,
95 "sino quieres ser engañado,
 no fies cuerpo de san."
 Baste ya.
 Señores, aqui verna
 vn poco de nobre gente.
 A decillo vine aca,
100 y on ora me vino a mi[ente],
 o que rudo!
 El primero es vn biudo,
 y este trae nobre gente:
 vn criado muy sesudo,
105 el qual es leal siruiente;
 y tras esto
 viene luego muy de presto,
 sin detenerse bocado,
 vn galan lindo, compuesto,
110 y Turpino, su criado.
 Mira al qual.

83. *chinflon*. Not found in the Spanish dictionaries to which I have access, but compare *chiflar*, fam. "Beber mucho y con presteza vino ó licores" (*Dic. Acad.*). For the epenthetic *n*, cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§785, 789.

85. *nos=no os!* This line is not clear to me.

92. This line is too short.

93-95. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II, 22.

94. Read for the meter *quies*, or one of the short forms of *sino*. The fact that the printer seemed to have trouble with *quies* in l. 216 adds to the probability of its being the best correction here.

100. *on=aun*. The same form is found in ll. 671, 698, 1074(?), 1088. *An* is found in ll. 1194, 1295, 1297, 1365; *an que*, 829. Cf. Pietsch, "Notes on Spanish Folklore," *Modern Philology*, V, 100.

100. *a mí*. I am indebted to Dr. Pietsch for the reading *a miente*.

108. *bocado*. Here used as in Portuguese; cf. Moraes, *Dicionario da Língua Portuguesa*, 7th ed., "porção pequena, não só de cousa de comer, mas também de outras, de tempo, caminho, etc." This figurative negative may be added to those collected by Lang, *Modern Language Notes*, I, pp. 64-65; II, p. 186; and *American Journal of Philology*, VI, 80 ff. Cf. also Comfort, *Modern Language Notes*, XXIII, 61-62.

- Cleriano cuenta su mal,
que muere por vna dama.
Su moço, no muy boçal—
115 (vereys en fin lo que trama
sin tardar)
que quando van assacar
la hija, sin mas rodeo
salta el padre a lo estoruar,
120 el qual se llama Lireo
dolorido.
La Radiana (o perdido!)
es hija del enbiudado.
Su padre, que aueys oydo,
125 trae consigo otro criado
muy discreto,
el qual se llama Ricreto.
Este estorua los amores
a Marpina y Turpineto,
130 que son los reuoluedores.
La moceta
a por nombre Marpineta,
y Radiana, la dama.
La moça como alcahueta
135 concierta el galan y la ama
sus amores.
Luego vernan tres pastores,
Juan, Pinto, tambien Girado.
Mirareys los bien, Señores,
140 que traen gran gasajado.
Que habrar!
y no lo se relatar
como lo dira esta gente.
Casi al fin vereys entrar
145 vn crego, mal huego le entre
con sus melenas.
Repartese en cinco cenas
la comedia singular.
Assi ayays buenas estrenas.
150 Todos haze por callar.

Aij

117. *que*.122. *o perdido*. The author was evidently hard pressed for a rhyme word.135. *concierta* = *concierta á*.135. *la ama*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 29; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §202.145. *crego* = *clerigo*.

- 155 No se os pierda,
 a quien digo, gente cuerda,
 todos calla, pues os toca;
 son prega a Dios que de mierda
 se os hincha a todos la boca.

JORNADA PRIMERA

Lireo, Ricreto

- 160 *Lir.* Estoy agora espantado
 de mi mesmo y de mi vida.
 Como estoy tan trastocado,
 y quan mal que me a pagado
 la fortuna fementida!
 O traydora,
 de alegria robadora,
 franqueza de mil pesares,
165 que cada momento y ora
 de enejos me das mil pares!
 Dimi pues
 porque biues al reues:
 que, al que te ama, le destruyes,
170 y, al que te trata al reues,
 cien mil vezes le atribuyes.
 Pues porque?
 En verdad que yo no se
 si te enoje vez alguna.
 Perdoname si herre.
175 No me mal trates, Fortuna,
 que, a mi ver,
 no consintio mi querer,

152. *quien*. Cf. Cuervo, *Notas to Bello's Gramática Castellana* (1908), pp. 53-54.

154. *son = sino*. *Sono* is found in l. 819.

155. *baca*. Misprint for *boca*.

165. *enejos*. Probably a misprint for *enojos*.

166. *mi*. Cf. *si*, l. 208. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 26, mentions the existence of *mi*, *ti*, *si*, dative and accusative, and other examples from the manuscript of Valdés' *Diálogo de la Lengua* are given by Boehmer, *Romanische Studien* (1895), p. 468. An adequate investigation of such forms has not yet been made. In *mi* we may have a strong form, like the French *moi* used after the positive imperative, or simply an assimilation of *dime* to *dimi*. The supposition of Leonese influence to change final *e* to *i* is not elsewhere supported in this text. *Si* may be accounted for by the tendency to vacillation between pretonic *e* and *i*; cf. note to l. 42.

170. *atribuyes*. The use of this word in the sense of *reward, favor*, with object of person only, is unusual.

171. *pnes*. A misprint.

- mi voluntad serte varia.
 Porque me echas a perder,
 180 mostrandoteme contraria?
 O Ventura!
 no ay humana criatura
 que tal perdida perdiesse,
 ni quien con tanta cordura
 185 tantos trabajos sufriesse,
 ni es nacido,
 en los tiempos que yo he vido,
 quien perdiesse tal mujer.
 Lo ganado va perdido
 190 en tal perdida perder.
 No profana,
 nunca fue loca ni vana;
 nunca tal muger se vio.
 O que pierdes, Radiana,
 195 nunca tal muger perdio!
 En mal punto
 me vino tanto mal junto;
 en perder yo tal presea,
 mi triste muerte barrunto.
 200 Venga, que en mi bien se implea,
 vente, Muerte.
 No cures de detenerte,
 ni te apiades de mi;
 pues todo mi bien se vierte.
 205 Ven, que yo te espero aqui.
 Triste yo,
 quien para tal se caso!
 O quien nunca si dixera:
 "Quando Dios me la lleuo,
 210 llevarama a mi siquiera."
 No es razon
 que sigas tu esclamacion,
 pues no se te sigue al,
 si no doblar la passion,
 215 y assi viene mal tras mal.
 Quies mirar!

[Fol. 3r]

Ric.

187. *vido*. Cf. Gassner, *Das altspanische Verbum*, p. 192.
 206-7. These two lines appear as one in the Gothic edition.
 208. *si*. Cf. note to l. 166.
 216. *qui es*.

- 220 Quien se quiere intitular
 de animoso y de prudente
 a de sufrir y passar
 qualquier soberuio accidente.
 Lir. No lo digas.
 Ric. Ruegote mas no prosigas,
 porque Dios tienta al fiel,
 y le da muchas fatigas
 225 por conoseer que ay en el
 por tal suerte.
 Tu no desseyes la muerte,
 porque es a Dios omicida,
 y, guiando de otra suerte,
 230 pierdes dos vezes la vida.
 Lir. Que porfia!
 Yo pense que mas sabia
 tu ciencia y rearguir.
 Quien tal pierde, mas valdria
 235 que aboresciese el biuir.
 Ric. Esso niego.
 As de sofrir con sossiego
 qualquier bien o aduersidad.
 Lir. Yo digo que hablas ciego.
 240 *Ric.* Tu dizes, señor, verdad.
 Se entender
 que vna mala muger
 (sobre este punto me fundo)
 que basta a echar a perder,
 245 no vn reyno, mas todo el mundo.
 Lir. Pues la mia?
 Ric. Yo te digo que podia
 loarse entre mil mugeres.
 La corona merescia
 250 sobre quantas conosciere.
 Por llorar
 no la as de resucitar,
 avnque mas tristezas hagas.
 Vamos ora reposar.
 255 No renueues viejas llagas.

227. *desseyes*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 51.

254. *V. ora de r.* *Ora = ora á*. The *de* must be an addition of the printer. It may have been taken inadvertently from l. 252, or have been added to emend a seemingly incomplete sentence.

JORNADA SEGUNDA

Cleriano, Turpino, Marpina.

- Cler.* A lo menos, Cleriano,
bien te puedes alabar
que moriras mas hufano
que nadie puede pensar.
- 260 Bien heziste
en darte, como te diste,
a la dichosa prision;
pues que lugar lo touiste
en ponerte en deffension,
- 265 considera
que vna vida lastimera,
vn quexarte noche y dia,
aquesto siempre lo espera,
y no plazer ni alegria.
- 270 La esperança
me hara no hazer mudança
donde el coraçon dexe,
mas antes con confiança
costante me mostrare
- 275 de contino.
Ven aca; dime, Turpino,
que hare en este tal caso.
- Tur.* Quel amor falso, maligno
quiere destroçar tu vaso
- 280 de virtudes,
mi señor, jamas ayudes
a tu vario pensamiento;
mas si de ti le sacudes,
luego eres libre y esento
- 285 dese mal.
- Cler.* Ven aca, bruto bestial;
aquel que Cupido hiere,
avnque sea vn animal,
sanara si el no quisiere.
- 290 *Tur.* Es posible?
Cler. Avnque boluiesse a inuesible,
el amor es ya tan fuerte

Aiiij

274. *costante.* Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§809, 816.278. *maligno.* Cf. *malina*, l. 556, and Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §815.284. *esento.* Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §817.

- que si le viesse mouible,
 haria por darle la muerte.
- 295 *Tur.* A señor!
 metido me as en temor
 en sentir tu graue quexa;
 mas por quitar tu dolor,
 aqueste cargo me dexa.
- 300 Te prometo
 trabaxarlo muy secreto
 para auerte medicina.
 Sufre tu como discreto;
 dexame hablar a Marpina,
- 305 su criada.
 No me veran dar pisada,
 ni lo sentira su padre.
 Yo mirare bien la entrada,
 pues que ya no tiene madre
- 310 que guardaua.
 Cler. Si la madre la miraua,
 el padre la vela mas;
 si la madre la encerraua,
 con mil guardas la veras.
- 315 *Tur.* Pues huho!
 aquessa me quiero yo,
 pues Dios me de malos fines
 sino le muestro quien so.
 Si la topo en sus jardines,
- 320 si me escucha,
 o si quiere tener lucha
 y dar oydo al mancebo,
 veras si pesco la trucha
 sin que lleue mucho cebo.
- 325 *Cler.* Ven aca,
 porque orden se hara
 que tu no fuesses sentido.
- Tur.* Digo que ella se vendra
 al lugar que me as oydo.
- 330 Su criada,
 avnque sea mas taymada,

293. *li.* For *si*.323-24. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II, 260 (also I, 229-30).Ni vemos que toma truchas
 Quien no se moja las bragas.327. *fnesses*.331. *seas*.

- tengo de la trabucar
que sea mi enamorada,
y huelgue de lo acetar;
335 y acetado,
esta ya medio tramado
y ando el medio camino.
Tu veras si tu criado
no haze perder el tino
340 a Radiana.
Prometote con fe sana
de hablar mi nueva amiga,
y hazer que vna mañana
podays hurdir vuestra liga.
345 Ora andar.
Vamonos sin mas tardar
donde vn rato reposemos.
Huelga tu de me dexar
lo que entre manos tenemos.
350 Vamos via,
que yo me bueluo otro dia
a començar esta trama.
Valame Sancta Maria!
Esta es la moça o la ama?
355 *Cler.* Es la moça.
Tur. El pelo se me alboroça.
Dexame, señor, con ella.
El coraçon me retoça
en veros tan linda y bella.
360 *Mar.* O traydor!
Quien os dio tanto fauor
que entrasedes al jardin?
Tur. Decirtelo he sin temor
el principio, medio, y fin.
365 Mi intincion
dio osadia a la razon
a que entrasse sin mandado,
y a que sin mas dilacion
me diesse por tu criado.
370 *Mar.* Que donoso!
Soys, hermano, algun raposo,

[Fol. 4r]

341. *confessana*.342. The meter permits either *hablar mi . . .* or *hablar a mí. . .*. The direct object after *hablar* is not unknown; cf. Lope de Vega, *La Esclava de su Galán* (ed. Kressner, 1889). Act III, ll. 345-46.371. *rapaso*.

- que buscays temprano muerte.
Tur. Soy el que ningun reposo
 se me siguió solo verte.
 375 Pero miento,
 que mucho contentamiento
 tengo en verte en mi presencia,
 mas doblaseme el tormento
 en conociendo tu ausencia
 380 *Mar.* Dime pues,
 como quisieron tus pies
 acercarte a mala muerte?
Tur. Boto a Dios, si vienen diez,
 385 que mi espada los despierte
 el morir!
 Yo le quiero rescibir
 si tu me lo quieres dar.
Mar. No cures mas de arguir,
 que todo es lisonjear.
 390 Vete fuera.
Tur. Mi vida muy lastimera
 fuera ira, mas quedare
 do quedara mas entera
 mi fe; pues a ti se fue
 395 de su grado,
 do morire sepultado
 en tu renombre y memoria,
 y que, si tu me as penado,
 muero; mas biue mi gloria.
 400 *Mar.* Ya lo vemos
 que nadays siempre sin remos,
 y os ahogays a la orilla,
 y fingis diez mil extremos,
 y penas por marauilla
 405 pues te mato.
 Acontecete algun rato,
 estando al mejor comer,
 de tenerte yo en el plato
 lo que tienes menester?

383-85. The parallel from the *Comedia Himenea* cited in the introduction is much nearer this text than the similar passage in the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (ed. Foulché-Delbos, 1902) p. 144.

401 ff. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*, II, 319,
 Todo fué nadar, nadar,
 Y ahogarme en la orilla.

- 410 *Tur.* Matadora,
dexemos aparte agora
mis penas, que son sin tiento,
y, si as plazer en la ora,
te contare vn breue cuento.
- 415 *Mar.* Ve, bestial,
torpe, grosero animal;
no consigas tal locura,
no te redunda algun mal.
- 420 *Tur.* Avnque me des sepultura
de tu mano—
Mar. Ora te creo milano.
Ta! ta! No me digas mas,
cuenta agora a passo llano
qualquier cuento que querras.
- 425 *Tur.* Das licencia?
Mar. Si, mas con poca audiencia;
no cures contar despacio,
porque tengo vna pendencia
que entender en mi palacio.
- 430 *Tur.* Mira, hermana,
(assi biuas libre y sana,
y gozes tu gentileza)
que digas a Radiana
la muy crecida tristeza
y gran passion
que a sentido el coraçon
de Cleriano en querella,
y que le an dado la vnion
dos vezes por causa della;
- 440 mas que Amor
nunca fue consentidor
que muriesse Cleriano,
sino encendido en ardor,
puesto el fuego de su mano.
- 445 O Marpina!
que si Dios no lo encamina,
presto aura su monumento.
Si le viesses; desatina
mil vezes en vn momento.
- 450 *Mar.* Ora andar;
propongo de no escuchar
tus razones varias locas,

Aiiij

- que si tal le quiero hablar,
pedaços me hara las tocas.
- 455 *Tur.* Por mi fe!
de aqui no me partire
sin tu buen prometimiento
contarle lo que conte
delante tu acatamiento.
- 460 *Mar.* Soy contenta,
avnque no gano en la renta
para agujas ni alfileres.
O, en quanta passion y afrenta
os veys, cuytadas mugeres!
- 465 *Tur.* Vida mia,
reponderasme de dia?
Hablame, Marpina, hermana.
- 470 *Mar.* De noche me parescia
pero buelue de mañana,
y a de ser
que por me hazer plazer
no te alaues despensa;
mira, esto puede ser,
no rescibas dello offensa.
- 475 *Tur.* Bueno va,
esso bien cosido esta.
Da otra puntada mayor.
- 480 *Mar.* Voyme porque viene ya
Cleriano, tu señor.
- 485 *Cler.* Dime, di;
avn agora estas aqui
en platicas con Marpina?
Tur. Oy se busca para ti
nueua y sana mediscina.
- 490 *Cler.* Di, que tal?
Tur. Quedo el amor tan igual
que, si me echaua a enpujones,
me prometio en lo final
de remediar tus passiones,
si pudiesse.
- Avnque pensasse y supiesse
que las tocas la resgasse,
le dira quanto quisiesse,
escuchasse, o no escuchasse.

[Fol. 5r]

492. *resgasse*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §18(3).

- 495 *Cler.* Dixo mas!
 Tur. A la fe, mas y remas:
 que, hablada a Radiana,
 que la respuesta sabras
 vn dia desta semana.
 500 Sera ansi.
 Cler. Turpino, haz tu de mi
 buena cera y buen paulo.
 Que haras? triste de ti!
 que tu vida esta en vn hilo.
 505 Cleriano,
 pienso serte bueno y sano,
 que tu buscasses la muerte
 y tomarla con tu mano,
 pues amor se muestra fuerte.
 510 *Tur.* Necear!
 Cler. Hazme vn placer o pesar
 que no hables murmurando.
 Tur. Antes quiero rebentar
 en verte a ti estar penando
 515 en tal congoja.
 Cler. O pena que no me afloxa!
 Muerte, euita este trabajo.
 Tur. Dar, dar habla con la roxa,
 doze dara este badajo.
 520 A señor,
 boto a tal! esto es peor;
 salte presto, porque veo
 que viene a mas ya mejor
 el viejo ruin de Lireo.

JORNADA TERCERA

Lireo, Ricreto, Pinto y Xirado.

- 525 *Lir.* O mas inportuna vida
 que hombre humano sostiene!
 O vida triste corrida!
 O vejez mas abatida
 que hombre humano mantiene!

514. *penado*.

518-19. The following interpretation is suggested for these difficult lines: *roxa = rubia* and refers to Marpina. A pejorative meaning may be attached to *rubia*; cf. Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos Populares Españoles* V (1893), 222 ff. (post-scriptum of Demófilo). 519. It will strike twelve, i. e., your difficulties will come to an end, since the resistance of Radiana will be overcome with the aid of Marpina.

- 530 O Ricreto,
paje mas sabio y discreto
que de señor come pan!
si me tienes vn secreto
contarte todo mi afan,
- 535 pues ventura
me traxo a tanta estrechura,
y a darme tantos cordojos,
y a que tal mala ventura
oyesse y viessen mis ojos.
- 540 *Ric.* Mi señor,
dame cuenta sin temor.
Quien te da tanto pesar?
Que, plaziendo al redentor,
bien se podra remediar.
- 545 Sin mentir,
vn refran oy dezir,
y que aquel que esta escuchando
su mal acaece oyr.
- [*Lir.*] 550 Dios, pues tu eres de mi vando,
tu sabras
mi querella sin compas.
O vida que tanto afana
a vna noche que no amas!
Yendo a ver a Radiana
- 555 ya Marpina,
traydora falsa malina,
infiel a su señor
(no se que amor le encamina,
ni se quien es el traydor
que la sigue.
- 560 Quien es que assi me persigue?
O viejo desventurado!)
combatiola que se obligue
a tomar enamorado.
- 565 Yo escuchaua,
y mil vezes me tentaua
el diablo a querer entrar,
y despues me recelaua
solo por no perturbar
a mi hija.
- 570 Si yo entrara a la partija
turbarala el coraçon.

534. contarte = contar te he.

- Ric.* Ya no ay quien sufra ni rixa
aquesta tan gran traycion
marpinica.
- 575 Muy bien se yo que se pica
vn poco de requebrada,
y que es propria y muy bonica
para ser encoroçada.
- 580 Sin debate
quiero tu merced me mate
sino le trillo la lana,
y sino doy vn combate
a tu hija Radiana.
- 585 *Lir.* Mira, ve
alla a casa por tu fe,
y estando hecha la cena,
llama, que aqui esperare.
Assi ayas buena estrena.
- 590 Ve en volandas.
- Ric.* Señor, hare lo que mandas,
luego boluere por ti.
De todas vias y vandas
te sirue, señor, de mi.
- 595 *Lir.* Dios loado,
pues la fortuna me a dado
tal mala ventura y suerte,
y pues se fue mi criado,
quiero yo tomar la muerte.
- 600 Ay de mi!
En mal punto aca nasci,
pues me siguio tal ventura.
Tres generos trayo aqui
para tomar muerte dura.
- 605 Quiero yr
sin la vida redemir,
pues que nunca me fue sana.
Que nuevas podras oyr,
triste de ti, Radiana!
- 610 Que haras,
quando la nueua oyas
de la muerte que me atierra?
Pienso que trabajaras
morir de tu propria guerra.
- 615 Hijos! Hijos!

- Al nacer mil regozijos!
 Desque criados, hazeys,
 por ponerlos en letijos
 por a donde rebolueys,
 gran contienda.
- 620 A vnos costays la hazienda,
 y a otros lo que an ganado,
 y a mi sola aquesta prenda
 honrra y vida me a costado.
- 625 O mal mundo!
 ya no ay mi par ni segundo.
 O vario traydor mudable!
 que tu lago tan profundo
 vna ora nunca fue estable.
- 630 Ay que hago!
 que ya no me doy el pago.
 Sal, puñal, que tu as de ser.
 De passar tengo este trago;
 no me cumple detener.
- 635 Mas primero
 te ruego, Dios verdadero,
 que perdones esta injuria.
 Ya me trae al pagadero,
 Radiana, tu luxuria.
- 640 Hija mia,
 piensa que mas te queria
 que a la lumbre de mis ojos,
 mas ya quiero en este dia
 dexar cumplir tus antojos.
- 645 *Pin.* A Girado,
 aballa, aballa priado;
 aguija, diabro majote.
 Mira que emparamentado
 que veras vn hidalgote,
- 650 Hi de Dios!
 Voto a san que vastays vos
 ser proprio aquella que espanta.
 O cuerpo ora non de nos!
 Do hurtastes essa manta?

646. *priado*. Quickly.647. *majote*. Used also by Lucas Fernandez (see Vocabulary), but evidently the word has a broader depreciatory meaning than *guapeton*.652. *aquella* = *á aquella*.

653. Cf. l. 703.

- 655 *Gil.* Reuentado.
 Lir. Mucho mas es empleado.
 Pin. Que todo esso no es nada,
 desviate alla, Girado,
 frocarele vna pedrada.
 660 Sus, dezi;
 que diabros buscays aqui?
 Venis a hurtar ouejas?
 Lir. Duelete, hermano, de mi.
 Gir. Di que dexe las orejas.
 665 Presto, presto!
 Lir. Mucho mas merezco questo.
 No cures darme pedradas.
 Pin. No llameys a nadie cesto,
 cos hare dar de nalgadas
 670 a traycion;
 y on por vida de Sanson,
 el cochillon me daras!
 Lir. Mas sacame el coraçon,
 y ansina le ganaras.
 675 *Pin.* Si, hare.
 Dad aca, començare.
 Hincia la rodilla al suelo.
 No medre, vuestra merce.
 Mandasme que os rape el pelo?
 680 *Lir.* Corta bien.
 No gastes mas almalzen,
 que me das pena crecida.
 Pin. O cuerpo de Santaren!
 Nos entiendo por mi vida.
 685 Que dezis?
 Nos dexistes cos muris
 de terrible comenzon.
 Lir. Cierta tu estas hecho cris.
 No te dixes, neciaron,
 690 y rogue,

A vj

655-56. These lines are not clear to me.

659. *frocar*. Cf. Vocabularies to *Autos del Siglo XVI*, and to Encina, *Teatro Completo* (ed. Acad., 1893).669. *cos* = *que os*.672. *cochillon*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, §16.684. *nos* = *no os*.687. *comenzon*. Probably for *comezon*; cf. l. 83, note.688. *cris* = *eclipse*. Cf. *Don Quixote*, Pt. I, chap. xii, and note of Clemencia I (1833), 246; Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilación*, II (1886), 181, "se crisó el sol;" J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Revista Lusitana*, 4^o anno, p. 61, *clis*.

- que quisiesses por tu fe
por solo euitar mi mal,
matarme, pues lo mande,
con el mi propio puñal?
- 695 *Gir.* Sus, que os ate,
pues juro a san, sin debate,
de lo hazer muy ligero,
y on mala rauia me mate,
sino hago como el carnero.
- 700 *Pin.* Queres vos,
en las manos de los dos
vos dexares el pellejo.
O cuerpo ora non de vos,
echa aca esse cordelejo.
- 705 *Gir.* O que abarcas!
El pellejo a las comarcas
le doy por dos medios reales
o para aforro a dos arcas.
- 710 *Lir.* Acabad presto mis males;
Concluid,
y de los dos me herid
el que fuere mas artero.
- 715 *Pin.* Juro a sant, si viene el Cid,
no nos leuasse el cordero.
O mal grado!
que se nos auie olvidado
lo mejor, segun que creo.
Como te llamas, cuytado?
- 720 *Lir.* Llamome el triste Lireo.
Gir. O maldito!
Do al diablo que negro apito!
Teniamos por le matar.
Desata poco a poquito,
y tornemosle a soltar.
- 725 A señor!
Dinos ora tu dolor,
que, avnque aca somos pastores,
tenemos vn herrador
que enxalma de mil dolores

696. *inro.*716. *avie.* Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 117(2).721. *apito.* Cf. l. 731 and Foerster, *Spanische Sprachlehre* (1880), p. 67. *Apito* is found in Lucas Fernandez (cf. p. 36 and Vocabulary), and is the usual form in Portuguese.729. *enxalma* = *ensalma*.

730

Ved si es baço,
axaqueca o espinazo
o quillotre o mal dijada,
si es essotro quillotrazo.

Lir.

Sacude otra badajada.

735

Mi passion
llega dentro al coraçon;
no puede auer curugano
sino muerte por baldon.
Ea que el alto soberano—

740

Pin.

Nos entiendo.

[Lir.]

Yd nos lo agora diziendo
que se pudiesse entender
que mi mal se esta riendo
de tu muy poco saber.

745

Gir.

Hu, ha ha!
Ora pues, señor, mira,
si habras con antiparo,
a fe nosotros aca
siempre habramos muy craro.

750

Sea que quier;
nunca Dios me dexe ver
ni llograr a Marinica,
si yo vos puedo entender,
y entiendo a la mi borrica.

755

Lir.

Ve, villano.

Pin.

Par Dios, seros a mas sano
que nos digays vuestro mal.
Traere vnto de milano
y vn poco de vnto sin sal
y dialtea.

[Fol. 7r]

731. *axaqueca* = *jaqueca*; cf. l. 721, note.

732. *dijada* = *ijada*.

737. *curugano*. Cf. Lucas Fernandez (Vocabulary), *zurujano*. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, II, 241, writes *letijo*: *regocigo*.

740. *nos* = *no os*.

747. *antiparo* = *antipara*. Portuguese has the form *anteparo*. *Hablar con antiparo* is to speak obscurely.

760. The author here (ll. 725-60) recalls a passage from Torres Naharro's *Comedia Aquilana*, *Propaladia*, II, 305 ff. The lines quoted are found on p. 311:

Galt.

El herrador,
Y el barbero, y la que enxalma,
Y el viejo saludador,
Que sana de cuerpo y alma.
Y á mi hermana
Que cayó la otra mañana,
La sanó Marina Gil,
Con una poca de lana
Y el aceite del candil.

- Lir.* Mucho mas questo simplea
 en tan desdichado viejo.
Gil. Par Dios, yo traya mas, sea
 y on vntazga de conejo,
 765 dilo cedo.
Ric. Dios te haga alegre y ledo,
 y te guarde, mi señor.
Lir. Soy tan triste que no puedo.
 Responde, buen seruidor,
 770 Es ya ora?
Ric. Vamonos, señor, agora,
 y sentarte as a comer.
 Alla escuche a la señora,
 y hize por lo entender.
 775 *Lir.* Que decia?
Ric. Decia que se perdia
 Cleriano en sus amores,
 mas decia que le cumplia
 que le mostrasse fauores
 780 Radiana,
 y que viniendo mañana
 concertan de te dexar.
 La vellaca muy hufana
 no hazie sino tramar.
 785 *Lir.* O amigo!
 Al tiempo doy por testigo,
 si el y ella no an su pago,
 vayan con el enemigo,
 que los metera en su lago;
 790 que, a mi ver,
 assi suelen succeder
 estos negros amorios.
 Vamos agora a comer.
 Yo hare que queden frios.
 795 Quedaos a Dios.
Pin. Con el vayades los dos.
 Señor, guardaos de otra tal;
 prega a Dios que guarde a nos
 de todo teribre mal.
 800 A Girado!
 Esto esta desencombrado.

763. sea = seda. Sea, meaning cerda, is found in Rato y Hóvia, *Vocabulario de las Palabras y Frases Bables* (1891).

764. vntazga = untaza.

- Durmamos, pesete al ciego.
Gir. Mas antes tengo pensado
que jugassemos vn juego.
805 *Pin.* Sus, por san!
Sienta que tiendo el gauan.
Gir. Pon cabe nos los barriles.
Trae la quajada y el pan.
Jugemos los chanbariles.
810 *Pin.* Ora andar;
Aqui me quiero assentar,
y as de jugar sin renzillas.
Quies primero merendar?
815 *Gir.* Juguemos las quajadillas,
y jugadas,
haremos las reuanadas,
y luego merendaremos.
No se vayan las manadas,
sono mal rato tendremos.
820 *Pin.* Echa, hermano.
Gir. Ora sus, echo por mano.
He vna en nombre de Dios.
Digo hao! si yo lo gano,
que lo comamos los dos.
825 Ya son tres.
Las quajadas van a diez.
He quatro.
Pin. Par Dios, mentis.
Gir. No, que al comer lo veres, [Fol. 7v]
aunque agora lo refiis.
830 *Pin.* No hu nada.
He tres, por Santa Bauada,

809. *jugemos*. Written for *juguemos*.

809. *chanbariles*. This rare word permits of widely different interpretations. The most satisfactory meaning here is one given by Michaëlis, *Portuguese-English Dictionary*: "*chambaril*, a gammon of bacon." Unfortunately, little support for this definition is to be found in the larger Portuguese dictionaries. A passage in the *Comedia Aquilana*, from which a portion of this scene is taken (cf. l. 760, note) gives a hint of what we should expect here.

Gall. Que si quieres, almorcemos,

Aqui tengo pan y queso.

Dand. ¿Qué otra cosa?

Gall. Dos tasejos, con su grosa,

La mejor de Madrigal.

—*Propaladia*, II, 271.

The only other time I find the word in Spanish is in Lope de Rueda, I, 124 (ed. Acad.), where neither the context nor the definition given by Cotarelo y Mori helps us here. It is not impossible, however, that the word used in *Radiana* is a gaming term connected with *chamba* or *chamarillero*.

819. *sono* = *sino*.

- y ora tengo de hechar vno.
Gir. Besad aca, gente honrrada,
entendesme, vno a vno.
835 *Pin.* Tres y siete.
Gir. Ya baco, vellaco asnete,
auiá quatro y ora quatro.
Pin. Mal huego queme al mamuete,
mentir, mentir cada rato,
840 diablo tocho.
Gir. Siete y ora vna son ocho,
anda, diablo, ya son nueue.
Pin. No mas por San Aguilocho,
nos possibre que lo lleue.
845 *Gir.* Tu, que auías?
Pin. Otras siete eran las mias,
y ora las que mas hare.
Tiro tres, por San Jemias;
pague lo quessa mece.
850 Saca el pan.
Traes el quillotre de Juan
Reuano, lo delgadillo.
Gir. Llegá aca, pesete san,
esse barril y el jarrillo
855 de cuajada.
Pin. O que buena vellacada,
traes por quajada leche.
Gir. Comamos, que no va nada.
Pin. Par Dios, encima os lo eche.
860 *Gir.* No hares.
Pin. Pues yos juro a Sant Andres
que estoy en hondes de hello.
Gir. Porque vos lo derrames,

836. baco = vacuo. Cf. Michaëlis, *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung* (1876), p. 266.

838. mamuete. Cf. Portuguese *mamote*, stupid, silly, simple.

844. nos = no es.

849. The reading of the text may be correct: "lo quessa mece = lo que es su merced." For *sa*, cf. Hansson, *Das Possessivpronomen in den altspanischen Dialekten* (1897), pp. 3, 13, and *Sobre los pronombres posesivos de los antiguos dialectos castellanos* (1898), pp. 11, 13. Similar constructions are not unknown today; cf. Alarcon, *La corneta de llaves*: "¡Pues lo que es esta tarde, ha de tocar usted!"

851-52. These lines must refer to some popular saying which I have been unable to find.

862. hondes = onde + analogic *s*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 128 (4). *Hondes* may also be *onde es*.

862. hello = herlo; for *hacerlo*.

- no se me da este cabello.
 865 *Pin.* Helo ay.
Gir. En mal punto para ti,
 toma, don hijo del diablo.
Pin. O cuytado, mal de mi!
 pues mira que lo que habro,
 870 por San Gil,
 don vellacazo ceuil,
 dir, don maldito sabueso,
 a llamar el aguazil,
 cos lleue a la carcel preso.
 875 *Gir.* Pues anda.
 Ora sus, bueno sera
 caminar contra la greja.
 O que diablo viene ya!
 Par Dios, me semeja—

JORNADA CUARTA

Cleriano y Turpino, [Lireo y Ricreto], Pinto, Girado y Juan.

- 880 *Cler.* Ven aca; dime, Turpino,
 ya tu sabes mi cuytado,
 y sabes aquel camino
 que tenemos concertado.
Tur. Si, señor.
 885 *Cler.* Ya sabes el mucho amor
 que me tiene Radiana,
 dime agora, por tu honor,
 parescete si es galana?
Tur. Pese a tal!
 890 voto a Dios! no ay su ygal
 de aqui a muy larga tierra.
Cler. O mal tan descomunal,
 como me mata su guerra!
 Gran passion
 895 siento en este coraçon,
 vn momento no me afloxa;

[Fol. 8r]

864. The idiom in this line is apparently unrecorded. The meaning is, "I cannot imagine why you are throwing it away."

872. *dir* = *ir*; cf. Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos Populares Españoles* I (1882), 113-14; H. Schuchardt, "Die Cantes Flamencos," *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, V, 311-312; *Musica, Dialectos Castellanos* (1892), p. 13; Baist, *Vollmöller's Kritischer Jahresbericht*, IV, Pt. I, 301.

873. *aguazil*. Cf. Lucas Fernandez, p. 27, and Vocabulary.

877. *greja* = *igreja* = *iglesia*; cf. Encina, *Teatro*, p. 144, and Vocabulary.

- tenerla tanta afición
hace crecer mi congoxa.
- 900 *Tur.* Señor mio,
 es tan grande el poderio
 que tiene este amor ciego
 que su nombre y señorío
 amata y enciende el fuego
 en vn momento;
- 905 mas por dar contentamiento
 a tu tan crecida llaga,
 si yo estuue bien atento,
 mira que mando que haga
 tu merced.
- 910 *Cler.* Dilo tu, y escuchare
 con el sentido despierto.
- Tur.* Dixo que por la pare
 entrassemos en su huerto,
 y que dentro
- 915 que nos pongamos al centro
 alla en lo mas escondido,
 y que nos saldra al encuentro.
- Cler.* Ques esto que yo he oydo,
 y es verdad
- 920 que su crecida bondad
 y su sobrada hermosura
 quiere dar seguridad
 a mi tan triste tristura?
- Es possible?
- 925 Jesus, yo soy imbesible,
 Dios poderoso y benigno!
- Tur.* O que loco tan terrible,
 cuytado de mi, Turpino!
- Quiero pues
- 930 que entre las dos y las tres
 vamos a hazer su mandado.
- Cler.* Yo te mando sin reues
 el mi sayo de brocado

925. *imbesible* = *imbécil*? Probably the author chose the word *invisible* (cf. l. 291) to fit the rhyme rather than the meaning of the text. In l. 877, for example, *greja* is thus used.

932 ff. Cf. Torres Naharro, *Comedia Himenea* (*Propaladia* II, 35).

Toma tú el sayón de raso,
Y tú el jubón de brocado,
Que otro día
Yo os daré mayor valía.

This is, however, a commonplace; cf. *Calisto y Melibea* (ed. Foulché-Delbosc, 1902), p. 12.

- y otra espada
 935 y avn otra capa frisada
 y otras mil buenas estrenas,
 pues solo desta jornada
 me traes nueuas tan buenas
- Tur.* A de ser
 940 que auemos de proueer
 quesperemos o huyamos.
 Si requiriere correr,
 que no huyan mas diez gamos.
- Cler.* Haz de vn arte
 945 que sepas bien conseruarte
 con las armas que te diere;
 que, si sabes menearte,
 no temas quanto viniere.
- Tur.* Bueno va,
 950 luego en menearme esta
 y en mandar bien la xoyosa,
 no ay mas sino heme alla.
 Quiero dezirte vna cosa,
 que en verdad
 955 no basta animosidad,
 ni blasones, ni porfia.
- Cler.* Pues que?
Tur. La seguridad
 de la razon que te guia.
 No soy viejo,
 960 soy en espiriencia anejo
 en plazer y en pesares.
 Echa en tu manga vn consejo.
 Culpame si mal le hallares.
- La razon,
 965 si la tuuiesse vn lebron,
 y a vn leon le faltasse,
 con muy flaco coraçon
 no dudes que lo matasse;
 pues se a vido
 970 vn muy triste dolorido
 con vna razon que cobra
 condes auer combatido
 y salir con fama y obra.
 Miraras

[Fol. 8v]

- 975 que en lo que començaras,
 siempre a Cristo lo encomiendes.
 Mil vezes lo pensaras,
 si falta algo en que lo enmiendes;
 y mirado,
- 980 de sus yerros enmendado,
 sin questes pensando en al,
 con vn animo esforçado
 lo haz como liberal;
 y emagina
- 985 que aquel que se determina
 a hazer algo prestamente,
 si es quien vna vez atina
 otras treynta se arepiente.
 Ves aqui;
- 990 esto me paresce a mi
 que rescibas con fe buena,
 mas quiero saber de ti
 lo contado como suena.
 Sin embargo,
- 995 en lo demas dame el cargo
 que avnque venga el mundo todo—
 Cler. Aora hablas muy largo,
 despues pornaslo de lodo.
- 1000 *Tur.* No, no, no!
 Boto a Dios, que me crio,
 sino passan de sesenta,
 de hazer que cobre yo
 doblada fama sin cuenta!
- 1005 *Cler.* No mas ya;
 por la obra se vera.
 Ordenemos la venida.
- Tur.* O Jesus! que bouo esta,
 que dizes bien por mi vida!
- Cler.* Anda vamos,
 que si en tiempo nos hallamos
 que la podamos sacar,
 prometo que la traygamos
 o morir o reuentar.
 Haz la guia.

976. *encomendaras*. Printer's error.998. *pornas lo de lodo*. Not the meaning given by the Dictionary of the Academy.
 Cf. Covarruvias, *ponerlo de lodo, estragar, o errar el negocio*.

- 1015 *Lir.* Riereto, ya el otro día
te descubri mi passion,
y la pena que sentia
en mi triste coraçon.
- 1020 *Ric.* No mespanto
porque, señor, sufres tanto,
pues al discreto y sabido
conuiene sufrir quebranto
como a hombre bien ardido.
- 1025 *Lir.* O señora,
madre de Dios, rogadora
por el que los dos criastes,
en esta infortunía hora
fauoresced mis desastres.
Mal criado!
- 1030 O Cleriano maluado!
Mira que tu mala suerte
y la fortuna a ordenado
que yo te de cruel muerte.
- 1035 Tu procura [Fol. 9r]
de conseguir tu locura
y sacar a Radiana.
Mira que ay gran estrechura,
guarte no dexes la lana.
- 1040 Luego, luego
hablaui el triste tan ciego,
jurando que Radiana
a de costar sangre o fuego,
y la de sacar mañana
a las tres.
- 1045 Escucha bien y veres.
Cria hijos con regalo.
- Ric.* El proprio quererlos es
regalarlos con buen palo.
Bien pensauas
- 1050 que porque assi la encerrauas,
seria mucho mejor,
y a vna suzia la fiauas,
hablando con saluonor;
pues tu daño,
- 1055 quando receles engaño,

1027. *infortunía* = *infortuna*. For the epenthetic i cf. Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, §6.

1043. *la* = *la ha*.

- y lo quieras euitar,
conoce primero el paño,
y despues hazlo cortar.
No se tal
1060 para euitar este mal
que adelante no pasasse,
sino que, como Anibal,
tu merced determinasse
de aguardar,
1065 poniendote en vn lugar
donde nadie no te sienta,
y en sacandola saltar
y ponellos en afrenta.
Lir. Sea ansi.
1070 Yo prometo desde aqui
de rescebir tu consejo.
Ric. Tomele, señor, de mi,
avnque yo no soy muy viejo.
Pin. On aon,
1075 aquel bellaco albardon
soncas el de aqui huyo.
Doy al diablo el mamilon,
la puta que lo pario!
Ha Juan, Juan!
1080 Aguija diablo albardan,
si quisieres ser mi amigo.
Juan. Que me quieres, ganapan?
O cuerpo de San Rodrigo!
Aca so.
1085 *Pin.* Pues quiero te contar yo
el vellaco de Jirado
endenantes me meoso,
y on no lo tengo vengado.
Juan. Pues que quieres,
1090 que si por dicha me vieres?
Pin. Assido con el al pelo
que le traues do pudieres,

1076. *soncas* = *acaso*, quizá.1076. *agñi*.1077. *mamilon*, formed from *mamar* on the model of *comilon*, *dormilon*. Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §899.1084. *a caso*.1087. *meoso*. The text is corrupt. The most probable emendation is *meó* for *meoso*, but *me(s)ó* is not impossible.

- y le echemos en el suelo.
El verna.
- 1095 *Juan.* Pardios yo le veo ya.
Escondete alla, zagal,
y en entrando sal aca,
y asgamosle por su mal.
- 1100 *Gir.* Compañero,
por Sant Florin del Otero,
que le tengo de abraçar.
- Pin.* Ha, don puto majadero,
que aqui me aueys de pagar
lo passado! [Fol. 9v]
- 1105 *Juan.* Sus! Ten paciencia, Girado,
pues tu no puedes her mas.
- Pin.* O que orillo tan honrrado!
Ponle las manos atras.
- 1110 *Gir.* Ay, hermanos!
Pin. Tus cabellos no son llanos,
y por ellos ygualar,
pelando como milanos,
te los tengo de pendar.
- 1115 Juan, andar;
no se a quien veo assomar.
Vno, dos, tres, que respingo
Ora sus! y os ampañar.
Aguijar, ola! Juan, digo.

JORNADA QUINTA

*Cleriano, Turpino, Marpina, Radiana, Lireo, Ricreto, Sacerdote,
Juanillo, Pinto.*

- Tur.* A señor,
1120 puedes entrar sin temor;
ninguno paresce aqui.
Como haze buen frescor!

1107. *orillo?* If the first suggestion in the note to l. 1087 is correct, *orillo* may mean "stream." Professor A. M. Espinosa informs me that such a meaning is found in New Mexican Spanish.

1111. *ellos.* For the use of the tonic form of the pronoun between preposition and infinitive in the Romance languages, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, § 722. However, no examples for Spanish are cited there, and those given by Zauner. *Altspanisches Elementarbuch* (1908), §171, are not exact parallels.

1113. *pendar = peinar.* *Pendado* for *peinado* is found in L. Fernandez and in Encina, *Teatro*; cf. Vocabularies.

1117. *ampañar = apañar*, with epenthetic *m*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 68. The *m* may be due to the influence of *empañar*.

- 1125 Passemonos hazia alli
 y escuchemos,
 porque de presto veremos
 salir aqui a tu señora,
 y muy apunto estaremos.
 O como es propia ora!
 1130 *Cler.* Oyete!
 Tur. Mas oya vuestra merced.
 Bueno, bueno, o que veo!
 La moça es, por buena fue.
 Cler. Yo digo que no lo creo.
 Ella es.
 1135 *Mar.* Yo, señor, beso tus pies;
 albricias!
 Cler. Yo te las mando.
 1140 [*Mar.*] Quiero que os certifiques
 que mi ama esta esperando
 de verdad.
 Los dos aqui me esperad,
 que alli auemos de salir,
 y muy quedicos estad.
 Nadie os oya rebullir.
 Cler. Que graciosa!
 1145 Vala el diablo, que donosa
 es la moça Marpineta!
 Tur. Lo que no tiene de hermosa
 bien le sobra de discreta.
 No la alabo.
 1150 *Cler.* De alegría en mi no cabo.
 Yo no se que puede ser.
 Tur. Mas besame aca en el rabo
 quando me quiera p[er].
 Sabes que
 1155 yo te dire lo que fue.
 Barruntas el alegría?
 Cler. Mala pascua Dios me de
 sino se allega mi dia.
 Tur. Bueno estas.
 1160 Yo juro a Sancto Tomas,
 trabajo es ser centinela.
 Sientome, si tu querras,
 encima desta rodela.
 O que cuento!

1165 Ves, voto a Dios, ya me siento,
no me embaraça la cola.
Cler. Passito paso con tiento.
No rada mas vna bola,
no de veras.

[Fol. 10r]

1170 Por vn poco mas cayeras
do aprendiste a boltar.
Tur. Ay, ay, triste mis coderas!
ay triste voy me acostar!
que dolor!

1175 Yo juro a nuestro señor
que me remouia los dientes.
A señor, tengo calor.
Cler. Di, torpe, tu no lo sientes.

Ea! agora
1180 que ya viene mi señora,
Turpino, ponte en primera.
Alegraste, triste, agora
con vista tan plazentera.

Reyna mia,
1185 no pense de ver el dia
de tal gloria para mi.
Tur. Boto a Dios, del alegria
tambien cabra parte a ti.

Cler. Cierto es tal.
1190 Tu, figura angelical,
que me heriste en vn dia,
que tanto senti mi mal
que de veras me moria.

Y an no miento,
1195 porque en verdad mi tormento,
mi gemir y sospirar
fue tanto que yo no siento
poderte nada contar.

Mi fatiga
1200 erame muy enemiga
que no lo querras creer;
erame muy enemiga
la alegria y plazer.

Rad. Para Cupido

1168. *rada* = *rueda*, or *roda* (Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilacion*, II, 2, *roda*: *boda*), but I cannot explain the form *rada*.

1177. *color*.

1198. *nadie*.

- 1205 me mando hiziesse partido
contigo, pues te ganaua,
y que no echasse en aluido
a quien nunca me olvidaua.
- 1210 Puedes ver
si te he querido querer,
y querre como a mi vida;
mas verguença me hizo ser
contigo desgradescida.
- 1215 Mas Amor,
como asoluto señor
de todos los amadores,
me mando que sin temor
remediasse a tus dolores
quando via.
- 1220 *Cler.* Tu presencia y gloria mia,
las vezes que te hablaua,
doblada pena sentia,
tal que nunca sosegaua
mi viuir.
- 1225 *Rad.* Pues, quando os via venir,
estaua esperando atenta;
si de vos oya dezir,
me hallaua muy contenta.
- 1230 *Cler.* No lo creo.
Rad. Cierto mi padre, Lireo,
vn dia me pregunto:
“Que as hija? Di sin rodeo.”
Mas nunca lo dixes yo.
- 1235 *Mar.* Mas dixeras,
triste, en que pena incurriera[s],
mala fuera para ti!
- Rad.* Yo te prometo de veras,
tan negra fuera para ti.
Yo le quiero,
mas prometeme primero
- [Fol. 10v]

1207. *aluido* = *oluido*. The change of initial *o* to *a* is not unknown; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 20 (3), yet this is probably a misprint.

1215. *asoluto*. Cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 818.

1217. *tenor.*

1221. *tehas hablauna.*

1225. *via = veia*. Cf. Keller, *Formenlehre*, p. 54. For examples of this period, see Rouanet, *Vocabulary to the Autos . . . del Siglo XVI*.

1227. $oua = oia$.

1238. This line is too long.

- ser leal como yo soy.
Cler. A fe de buen cauallero,
 por tuyo y leal me doy.
Mar. Pues sus, vamos.
 1245 *Lir.* Antes que de aqui salgamos,
 sin tener mucha audiencia,
 se a de saber que hagamos.
Cler. Pues, Lireo, con paciencia—
Lir. Mas sin ella,
 1250 tengo de vos gran querella
 de tan gran vellaqueria.
Ric. A la fe tened della
 que yo lo mesmo haria.
 Echad mano.
 1255 *Cler.* No me hallares tirano;
 lo que yo quiero, me dixo.
Sac. Mirad a Dios soberano
 puesto en este crucifixo
 con paciencia;
 1260 tened mucha reuerencia.
 A, señor tan excelente,
 mirad el cargo de conciencia
 que se sigue buena gente.
Lir. Soy contento
 1265 de tener acatamiento,
 avnque a sus pies me matasse.
Cler. No soy tal, ni tal consiento,
 que ante Dios tal mal passasse.
Sac. A señor,
 1270 decidme por vuestro onor,
 avnque sea descortesia,
 porque fue este rancor,
 que assi tan mal se refia.
Lir. Yo he plazer
 1275 de os lo hazer saber.
 Sabed que este galan,
 por tener en que entender,
 quiso tener este afan
 en que afana.

1252. It is necessary to read *de ella* with hiatus to separate the accented syllables;
 but cf. l. 1262.

1262. Read *mirá* for the meter.

- 1280 A essa llaman Radiana,
mi hija que no deuiera,
pues que de su propria gana
tomaua tan ruyn manera
de viuir.
- 1285 El quiso la requerir
de amores; ya la vencido.
Sac. Señor, yo quiero dezir
lo que a mi me a parescido.
Con licencia
1290 me den vn poco audiencia.
Miren bien mi parescer:
tiene el valer y presencia,
y sea ella su muger.
Tur. Nos parece
1295 puede ser y an acaece
hazella alguna ventaja.
Lir. Y an quiça no la merece.
Sac. Sus, dexad essa baraxa,
y sed cierto
1300 que se a de dar vn concierto
antes que vaya de aqui.
Desposense en encubierto
si os parece sea ansi.
Vos quereys?
- 1305 *Cler.* Yo hare quanto mandeys.
Sac. Y vos, señor?
Lir. No quisiera.
Sac. O, por Dios, no lo estorueys.
Lir. Ora hagasse que quiera.
Sac. Pues, amigos,
1310 yd y buscad dos testigos,
los primeros que hallardes.
Tur. Dos segadores de trigos,
los primeros que topardes.
Sac. Que acertar!
1315 Dios lo quiso assi ordenar.
El crucifixo es comprado,
y va para mi lugar,
quel concejo le a pagado.

[Fol. 11r]

- 1320 *Cler.* Mi señor,
Cupido, el falso traydor,
me forço ser descortes,
mas el passado horror
suplico que perdones.
Dios quisiera
1325 que yo nunca aca nasciera
antes que hazeros pesar.
- Lir.* Ora sus, ya hecho era,
Dios os quiera perdonar.
Ques de ti?
- 1330 *Rad.* Señor padre, veys me aqui.
Pues yo cometi el error,
el sacrificio sea en mi.
No padezcays vos dolor,
mas mirad
1335 que, a la sapiencia y bondad
y al gran seso y gran sentido,
lo ciega la ceguedad
del niño ciego, Cupido.
No basto
1340 que me defendiesse yo,
ni inconuinientes mirasse.
Con su fuerça me forço
que por suya me entregasse.
Huso de cruel villano,
1345 y me mando ser penada.
si mandays, dadme la mano,
y sea yo perdonada.
- Sac.* Razon es
que, señor la perdoneys,
1350 pues conoce su pecado.
- Lir.* Toma, y nunca tal obreys,
ques caso muy afeado.
- Ric.* Vos, rabosa,
descreo, doña mocosa,
1355 si por vuestros lindos trotes
en vna burra sarnosa
nos hago dar cient açotes.
- Tur.* Sus, señores,
1360 he aqui traygo dos pastores
que bastaran por agora.

- Pin.* Hi de Dios, que ricas frores;
valasme, nuestra señora!
- 1365 *Juan.* Voto al cielo
de sentarme en este suelo,
y an luego lo quiero her.
O hi de puta, que pelo!
- Pin.* Hi de ruin podes vos ser,
do al demoño.
- 1370 *Sac.* Ordenese el matrimonio
de Cleriano y la dama.
- Juan.* Nunca tu llegues a otoño,
hi de puta, como trama.
- Sac.* Ay señor, inconuinientes
que manda Dios que se guarden
por ventura son parientes.
- 1375 *Pin.* Y os digo que le enaluarden.
- Tur.* No lo son.
- Sac.* Prometio ella religion,
o voto de castidad.
- 1380 *Ric.* Do al diablo el aluardon;
agora le enaluardad.
- Sac.* Es casada?
o dezime, es desposada,
o a dado palabra alguno?
- 1385 *Juan.* Mas miralda si es capada,
despues besalda en el culo.
- Lir.* No lo a sido.
- Pin.* Y si lo hizo escondido,
que no lo viessedes vos?
- 1390 *Lir.* Calla, diablo dolorido;
ni lo es, ni fue, juro a Dios.
- Sac.* Sin tardar
los tengo de desposar,
pues estan ya concertados.
- 1395 *Lir.* Quando se ayan de casar,
yo dare diez mil ducados.
- Cler.* Yo profiero,
a fe de buen cauallero,
que sin las cosas de casa,
de dar seys mil en dinero.
- 1400 *Juan* Ox, que come aquella brasa!

1367. *hida.*1370. *Cleriano.*

- Que seys mil?
 Ora digo por Sant Gil
 que miente desatentado.
- 1405 *Tur.* Sera verdad, don ceuil,
Pin. Si, si, si, los a hurtado.
 Dad aca.
- Sac.* Pues vuestra merced la da
 por muger deste señor?
- 1410 *Lir.* Di si.
Rad. Si.
Sac. Si, sera,
 pues que plaze al redentor.
Juan. No as oydo?
Sac. Y vos os days por marido
 y esposo desta hermosa?
- 1415 [*Cler.*] Yo lo mesmo.
Sac. Ya esta dado;
 abra[ça]dme aqueessa rosa.
Pin. Al lobazo!
 Doy al diablo el clerigazo,
 y como se regozija.
- 1420 *Tur.* Ven aca. Dame vn abraço,
 que nuestro es el dia, hija.
Sac. Sea oydo.
 Por merced, señora, os pido
 que biuays limpia y honesta.
- 1425 Sed muy leal al marido,
 y nota bien lo que resta.
 Mirareys
 que muy obediente esteys
 siempre a vuestro señor padre.
- 1430 Servilde, pues que le veys
 sin muger y vos sin madre.
 Cada ora
 le consolareys, señora,
 vos y el señor Cleriano.
- 1435 Tambien os guarda adesora
 de huñas de otro milano.

1408-9. As these lines are very corrupt, I reproduce them in their entirety.

pues vuestra merced senor
 por muger de cleriano

1410. The line is too short. Read *Di que si*, or *Si, si, sera*.

1413. *b* in margin for *s* or *sa*.

1415. The rhyme is faulty. Perhaps the correct reading is, *Ya esto pido*.

- Demas desto,
 vos, buen señor, sed onesto
 y leal a la muger.
 1440 Mira quel diablo es tan presto
 que os quera mal reboluer.
 No riñays,
 ni ningun mal la hagays,
 sino le ouiere causado,
 1445 avnque de fuera vengays,
 como otros, enojado.
 Si riñere,
 o començare, o quisiere,
 que lo digo a la rasa,
 1450 que si nadie no lo viere,
 os acojays a mi casa.
Cler. Como que?
Sac. Digo porque la traere
 a ponerlos en paz luego.
 1455 *Juan.* A cuerpo de Santo Tome,
 no miras el puto crego.
Pin. Digo hao!
 Sos vos aquel que en Bilbao
 açotaron abra vn mes?
 1460 *Sac.* Dexa desse barambao.
Pin. A, vos sois; no lo negues.
 Compañero,
 vamos auer el apero;
 no nos le ayan hurtado.
 1465 *Juan.* Voto a Sant Juan, compañero,
 mas habraste que un letrado;
 pues yremos.
Lir. Pues sus, todos nos yremos.
Pin. Sea ansi por Sant Benito.
 1470 *Sac.* Par Dios, primero cantemo[s]
 vn salado villancito.
Juan. Bien habro,
 mas queres cos eche yo
 el mi boz gordo por baxo.
 1475 *Sac.* La puta que te pario
 ora te escucha, badajo.
Fin.

[Fol. 12r]

1441. quera = querrá.

1455. Read *Sant* for the meter.

50

R. E. HOUSE

VILLANCICO

Haze amar y no es amor
el traydor,
haze amar y no es amor.

1480

Haze amar con aficion,
ya da contino cuidado.
Mete al amante en prision,
do muere desesperado.

1485

Soy testigo yo cuytado,
y mi dolor,
que haze amar y no es amor.
Laus Deo.

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ANACHRONISM IN SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM

Criticism forgets that Shakespeare wrote in the sixteenth century. As if he were for this age rather than for all time, it overlays the text, like biblical criticism, with the notions of our philosophy and science, the devices of our art, the sentiments and ideals of our morality. On the stage, as long ago as the latter days of Garrick, Shakespeare dropped the bagwig, rapier, and full court dress for historic costume; but off the stage criticism arrays him and rearrays him in the garb and fashion of the hour. So it has done ever since it took the poet for its own, from the eighteenth century to the twentieth; but as time passes the process becomes more curious and uncouth. Ours is the day of the historical method, a method, largely, of denudation. Other poets, as Homer and Dante, have yielded to it; the Bible, even the Koran is yielding to it now: fetichism is all that stands in the way. That Shakespeare—*fétiche monstrueux*, as M. Sarcey calls him—is still bedecked with the rags and tinsel of the cult is due largely to the fact that scholars have kept to the life of the playwright and the language and external history of the plays, and have left criticism, the conclusion of the whole matter, to poets, essayists, gentlemen of taste and leisure, not to mention a horde of the tasteless and leisureless—propagandists and blatherskites. The scholars have moved heaven and earth to get at the original text, and the critics have done no less to give it a modern meaning. It is an anachronism when, in naïve ignorance, mediaeval painters and poets turn apostles into bishops and antique worthies into wandering knights, or Shakespeare himself turns Romans into Englishmen; and what is it when the critics turn Shakespeare into a twentieth-century symbolist? It is hardly criticism.

The function of criticism is not to make the poet in question the contemporary of the reader, but to make the reader for the time being a contemporary of the poet. To criticize is not merely or primarily to analyze one's own impression of a work of art, as the impressionistic critics aver, but to ascertain, if possible, the author's intention, and to gauge and measure the forces and tendencies of

his time. To do this one must know the author, know his time. Many of our critics have not this knowledge; many of them have not even felt it necessary to know and follow the text. Others have their vision troubled by the traditional, unhistorical point of view. Throughout the book by Professor Bradley,¹ whom no one would tax with lack of knowledge or of regard for evidence, the supreme authority recognized seems to be the experience of the reader. "The reader should examine himself closely on this matter," he repeats in various forms as he discusses tragic fate and the "substance of tragedy"; and so he frequently arrives at conclusions that on the one hand neglect the practical and conventional aspects of Shakespeare's dramaturgy, and on the other hand overwhelm Shakespeare's concrete, dualistic way of thinking with our prevailingly abstract, monistic one. Examine himself! Look in thy heart and write, as the poet was bidden! That, exactly, has been the method, and into what a maze of vagary and illusion it has brought us! Noble names have not been wanting in the history of Shakespearean criticism, from Coleridge and Hazlitt, Goethe and Schlegel, to Professor Raleigh and Professor Bradley himself; and their work, as everyone is aware, shows marvelous acuteness and ingenuity of interpretation and brilliance of expression: but it is the most bewildering thing in the world to read, whether taken as a whole or piece by piece. Truth is tangled with error, fact with fancy, criticism, in short, with poetry, and there is no test at hand to tell one from the other. The critics have examined themselves, and only their genius has made their irrelevant report worth the making. Not that the historical spirit has left recent Shakespearean criticism entirely untouched. Professors Bradley and Raleigh in particular, and foreigners like Dr. Brandes and Professor Brandl, have examined the poet as well, and the age he lived in, with such effect that their report is vastly more to the point than almost any other; but they have not taken up the historical spirit unreservedly and consistently or put impressionism or anachronism behind them. The focus is constantly changing as you turn their brilliant pages, and now and then your head swims. The landmarks of time shift and waver. Perhaps two dramatists, Mr. Shaw and Count Tolstoy, uncritical, unhistorical in temper,

¹ *Shakespearean Tragedy*, London, 1908.

but divinely candid, and modern to the marrow, have done more than any of the critics, in their disgust at "bardolatry" and their rooted antipathy to the bard himself, to explode the notion that the thoughts and devices of the sixteenth century are not different from those of the twentieth.

But the historical spirit hinders few; the self-examining, the idolatry goes steadily on. Everybody has his own Shakespeare, in his own image and after his own heart. A sentiment transforms a feature. Dr. Furness, noblest, and sanest too, of devotees, has misgivings at Lady Macbeth's taking to drink, and, although the text is explicit, "will not listen to it." Or sentiment exaggerates the beauty and significance of features already there. Mr. Sidney Lee, for all the vast knowledge at his command, thinks that Shakespeare's ironical treatment of kings and kingship is a startling contribution to sixteenth-century speculation, and that his censure of sham, cant, and quackery, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, III, 2, 74-89, anticipates Carlyle's and Ruskin's by three centuries, and is more potently and wisely phrased. In reality, Shakespeare's comment on the hollowness and frailty of kingly pomp is a commonplace of his day, found, for instance, in the chroniclers and in Marlowe and Marston, and his censure of cant—what should it be else?—is three centuries behind the times. This is the cant of fair face and foul heart, but the cant of Carlyle and Ruskin is that to which men's souls awoke in the days of transcendentalism, the cant of virtue and respectability. A like error of idolatry is the taking of the play to be no story at all, but truth and verity, as if Hamlet and Othello were Caesar and Alexander—or had stepped out of the picture to the floor! A writer in a recent number of the *Nation* remarks that this is the prevailing attitude, and certainly oftener than you would think, questions are started such as why Iago had not done better by himself in the past, and why he is now a dependent and his wife a servant; why his wife Emilia is so stupid as not to put two and two together and clear up the matter of the handkerchief; and whether it is through stupidity or through subservience that the Danish court at the play fails to take the hint of Claudius' villainy. It is not through stupidity, subservience, or any other shortcoming of their own, but simply through carelessness of realism, of probability,

in the author. All the world's a stage, no doubt, but the stage is not the world. Yet in the faith that it is, so far as Shakespeare is concerned, idolatry has intrenched itself by declaring with Professor C. F. Johnson, for instance, that "we cannot pluck the heart out of Hamlet's mystery any more than we can from the mystery of life," and that "psychological analysis cannot be applied to men of the Hamlet type until it has developed much farther than it has today."¹ The *petitio* is as presumptuous as that of the theologians—that these things are spiritually discerned.

Idolatry is anachronism pure and simple, but of anachronisms there is no end. Modern notions are read into Shakespeare's text, as much out of place as Lapland and America, Noah and Adam and Henry IV, in the classical atmosphere of the *Comedy of Errors*. And as soon as one set of contemporary notions is abandoned, another more strictly contemporary takes its place. Thus your Shakespeare is kept up to date. First it was eighteenth-century mechanical psychology, then Coleridge's transcendentalism, then German idealism, then the thousand and one notions of our latter-day philosophy, art, and science.

One of these is heredity. Juliet, in her wilfulness, is a chip off the old block, Capulet; Laertes and Ophelia, in their sententiousness and liberality with advice, are chips off the old block, Polonius. Even in his day Lowell, as Professor Brander Matthews notes with approval, applies the principle to Hamlet: "He seems the natural result of the mixture of father and mother in his temperament, the resolution and persistence of the one like sound timber worm-holed and made shaky, as it were, by the other's infirmity of will and discontinuity of purpose." And in a vein still more fantastic he pursues the subject with regard to Ophelia and Laertes. By the same token Hamlet would have inherited from his uncle—for this sort of heredity modern science as well as world-old observation warrants to be quite as common—his vein of introspection, his craftiness, and his propensity for playing detective and making short work of anyone who gets in his way! As Mr. Bradley justly remarks, Shakespeare does not appear to have taken much interest in what we now call heredity, or to have attached much importance to it:

¹ *Shakespeare and His Critics*, Boston, 1909.

astrological influence—it is the stars, cries Kent, the stars above us!—is the explanation ever at hand. And even in a play strictly modern we have no right to find traces of heredity without better evidence of the author's intention.

Other twentieth-century conceptions that are being read into Shakespeare are those of the newer psychology concerning subconscious states, racial distinctions, criminal and morbid types. There is a strong vein of the subconscious, says a recent critic, in most of Shakespeare's characters; and on that basis another builds his conception of Hamlet. Whole chapters and volumes have recently been written upon the poet's portrayal of criminals and madmen—a book on the former, last year, by the head of the Danish police—in the light of modern science. And racial differences in physiognomic expression, leading to misunderstanding of character, are by Professor Bradley made one of the causes of the tragedy of Othello and Desdemona. The best answer to these theories is to be found in an article on Elizabethan psychology by Professor Dowden in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1907; there, in that elaborate scheme of humors and elements, souls vegetative, sensible, and rational, is presented all that Shakespeare knew of psychology as a science, since well forgotten. Whether Shakespeare ever deals with the subconscious, and whether he deals with the criminal type accurately in the light of modern science, are topics too far-reaching and shadowy now to enter upon; but one thing is clear; that critics who hold to the theory of subconscious, or unconscious, self-deception with respect to Hamlet and Iago play havoc with Shakespeare's technique. They make the soliloquy void and of none effect. In the Elizabethan drama whatever a character says in soliloquy concerning his motives is for the information of the audience and is necessarily true; so true, indeed, that often, as on the lips of villains, it is, as an expression of character, untrue, calling black black and white white with an estimable, but most unnatural, candor. Iago is a liar, no doubt, but it is to confound fact with fiction and to knock the props from under Shakespeare's dramatic framework to hold that Iago's soliloquies are lies¹—that he

¹Cf. my article on the "Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakespeare," *Mod. Lang. Pub.* XXII, 2, for evidence of Shakespeare's directness and frankness in dealing with the audience.

lies to the audience, lies to himself. His word concerning his motives, like the theological reason Hamlet renders himself for sparing the King at prayer, must be taken at its face value. There is no chance of the audience discounting it, for they have no other clue. In Hamlet's case repetition might have given one; but at the next chance to kill a man who, as he thinks, is the King, he *kills* him; and, all things considered, the audience might as well doubt the asides, or, if there were any, the prologue or the chorus. Indeed, like the asides and the final couplets of scenes, the soliloquy is one of the Elizabethan substitutes for the Greek chorus, and is almost as oracular. When one of Shakespeare's characters does deceive himself, it is he himself in soliloquy, as Hamlet when he falls a-cursing like a very drab, or Iago when for the moment he dallies with the notion that he is not playing the villain, that detects it.¹

As for racial psychology, it is very doubtful whether there is in Shakespeare a trace of any other than the conventional, popular sort.² The only bar between Othello and Desdemona is one of color and nationality, of which Iago makes capital to argue lasciviousness in her for choosing him instead of a fair-skinned countryman, and folly in Othello for not having expected of his wife what any Venetian would have had to expect. Mr. Bradley rightly rejects the notion entertained by Schlegel that "Othello is meant to be a study of a noble barbarian, who has become a Christian and has imbibed some of the civilization of his employers, but who retains beneath the surface the savage passions of his Moorish blood and also the suspiciousness regarding female chastity common among oriental peoples." The suggestion that Shakespeare should have presented such a problem in *Kulturgeschichte* is, as Mr. Bradley says, "hopelessly un-Shakespearean"; but Mr. Bradley's own suggestion, I think, is equally so. Neither, however, rises to such a pitch of anachronistic desperation as Mr. Watts-Dunton's conception of *Hamlet* "as the

¹ *Othello*, II, 3, 341-67: "And what's he then that says I play the villain?" etc. Coleridge's comment on this passage has always seemed to me amazing: "He is not, you see, an absolute fiend; or, at least, he wishes to think himself not so." Iago gloats over the fair veil of honesty his villainy is wearing, and in the words "Divinity of Hell!" etc., he tears it aside with a jeer.

² That the Welsh are hot-headed, for instance, and the French are weaklings and cowards. Here I have the warrant of Dr. Brandes, as on p. 360 (*William Shakespeare*, New York, 1909); but not that of many other critics almost equally scientific in spirit.

struggle between the ratiocinative side of man's mind and the suggestions of the ancestral blood coursing in his veins—the suggestion, I mean, of the millions of voices that sometimes echo or murmur or sometimes bellow, through half a million years, from the European halls and castles of the dark ages and farther back still, from the huts of wandering tribes, from the remote days of paleolithic man.” The sixteenth-century mind that made the play, very evidently, “has nothing to do with the case.”

How idle an undertaking it is to read our modern ideas into Shakespeare appears still more clearly when we consider that often those ideas to which he had access and which in the exigencies of the plot cry for recognition, he slights and even ignores. *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Julius Caesar*, and the English “histories” are political plays with the politics left out. It is of persons that they treat or groups of persons, of parties and factions, and of their cravings and conspirings. There is no cause at stake, no principle or policy greater than the man and faction to lift both to grander issues. The Yorkists and the Lancastrians follow or abandon their leader, stand by their blood or betray it, as their passions bid them. The Plebeians scheme and palter for power with no more notion of their rights than have the Patricians themselves. Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius split the world in three as boys do a melon. The subtlest, and one of the most lofty, of all political characters, Julius Caesar, is fain to rant, strut, and play the hypocrite and humbug. And Brutus kills him, why, he hardly knows. As M. Stapfer observes, “this avenger of the Republic gives utterance to not a single republican sentiment”; and in *Coriolanus* “no attempt is made to give to each of the rival pretensions of the hostile factions whatever portions of truth it may contain or even to state clearly what they are.” Point of view, intellectual attitude count for little; cause and principle, republicanism or absolutism—or at any rate, republicanism, the principle of parliamentary government¹ or of popular rights, any principle but the conventional—count for nothing at all. It was Napoleon, I believe, who said that Shakespeare had no strategy—that his generals

¹ Dr. Brandes has pointed out that Shakespeare deliberately misrepresents Jack Cade and the Men of Kent, with their legitimate grievances, recognized even by the chronicler whom he followed; and that he avoids matters parliamentary or constitutional, as, for instance the greatest event in King John's reign, the granting of Magna Charta. In the same way he misrepresents the People in the Roman plays.

were but swordsmen—and of politics he had no more. With Machiavelli he had as little in common as with Bacon or Bruno.

So little interested in ideas as he is, Shakespeare is hardly the one to put them into his plot. He writes no plays with central ideas, as Grant White insisted years ago, still less a problem play, a *drame à thèse*. To mistake him at this point is to mistake for art of today—most insidious of anachronisms!—that of three centuries ago. It is to plunge Shakespeare into the company of Ibsen or M. Hervieu. It is to conceive of the *Merchant of Venice* after the fashion of M. Sarcey: “l'idée mère de l'œuvre, c'est que l'argent et le souci de l'argent sont ce qu'il y a au monde de plus vil . . . et que l'amour est le premier des biens!” M. Sarcey wrote from the heart of a dramatic world to which the idea is everything; but Shakespeare's interest—as has been recognized by Professors Raleigh and Baker, who have studied Elizabethan drama as a whole—lay in story. To us, of course, as to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the most interesting thing is the characters. But with the Elizabethans it was otherwise; and there is no other explanation for such anticlimaxes as in the *Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet*, for such dénouements as in *Measure for Measure*, *All's Well*, *Much Ado*, and most of the other comedies, for cases of “stupidity” such as that of Emilia or of “subservience” such as that of the Danish court, than that Shakespeare's art was on the same plane as that of his fellow-Elizabethans, the Greeks, and the Spanish, of all popular drama, indeed, before the nineteenth century, or, for that matter, much of our popular drama today, putting story first and character after.

In drama in which story is thus pre-eminent over character, what, then, of the underlying idea? At that stage of culture—except as allegory—it simply is a thing unknown. Every attempt to trace it in Shakespeare—the recent tactful ones as well as Schlegel's or Ulrici's—breaks down. In *Love's Labor's Lost* Professor Dowden, and others after him, have detected a “protest against youthful schemes of shaping life according to notions rather than according to reality, a protest against idealizing away the facts of life.” But at the end the King and his lords are sentenced to a year in a monastery, to do penance for breaking the vows of study and seclusion against which Shakespeare is here supposed to be protesting; and

there are many indications in the text that Shakespeare considers it more of a weakness, though an amiable one, for the King and lords to break their vows than to have made them.

Likewise the attempt breaks down with the "gloomy" comedies, *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure*, which have seemed especially *tendenziös*. Professor Wendell¹ discovers a Calvinistic contempt for an evil world pervading the latter, and a profound sense of sexual evil pervading both. Views somewhat like are entertained by many; but, as Mr. Raleigh observes, "if the humorous scenes, in which most of the corruption comes to light, are needed only to present without disguise or extenuation a world of license and corruption, why are they humorous? . . . For Shakespeare this world of Vienna is not a black world; it is a weak world, full of little vanities and stupidities, regardful of custom, fond of pleasure, idle, and abundantly human." Only, at this point Mr. Raleigh is himself slipping into the error of a unifying mood or idea, and one a bit highflown for Shakespeare at that. A Vienna given over to carnal pleasure is demanded by the story—to provoke the Duke to revive the old law of death. The morality to which Shakespeare adheres in presenting this is but the rough-and-ready, conventional morality of the England of his day. The upper classes—Claudio, Juliet, and Angelo—are judged by it: the young pair confess and repent roundly and without reserve. Love does not count. The lower classes, on the other hand—the bawds and their various hangers-on—though they and Angelo are the really vicious ones, are treated, with Elizabethan amplitude, as matter for gibe and jest. Like the *homme moyen sensuel* today, Shakespeare looks askance at the lady for her prank and laughs at the maid; and, like Chaucer and the Elizabethan novelists, he enjoys saying more of either than his conscience warrants. Consistency, then, unity of principle, there is none; as appears, indeed, if nowhere else, in the case of the character of the novice Isabella, "a thing enskied and sainted," who is shocked into virtuous rage by her brother's prayer for life at the cost of her compliance, but who acts out that part, by means of the substitute Mariana, even to the point of crying aloud the loss of her virtue in the market-place.

¹ Generally, to be sure, Mr. Wendell is not to be reckoned among those who cling to anachronisms or perpetrate them anew.

And as for *All's Well*, "the cynical irony of a modern Frenchman" and "the miserable mystery of earthly love," which Mr. Wendell finds in it, are ideas incompatible with the indecent conversation in which, in the first scene, the heroine, nothing loath, engages with Parolles; with her businesslike method of taking possession of a husband; and with the dearth of passion—except for simple aversion in one case and frank affection in the other—evinced by either her husband or her. In the intention of the author, it seems to me, there is no cynical irony, no miserable mystery, for there is no disillusionment, or strife of passion, but the most unquestioning, unreluctant acceptance of the ways of the world and the flesh. What irony there is, is of the simple theatrical sort, such as arises from the heartless rebuff given the heroine by the man she worships at the moment when she seems to have won him: the lust which she later discovers in him neither surprises her nor for one moment deters her.¹ Still less is there occasion for sentiment concerning "Helena's sacred boldness in assuming command over Bertram's fate and her own," or her "healing of the spirit of the man she loves"; for from the hour that she receives his letter—"When thou canst get the ring upon my finger, which shall never come off"—her character is left to shift for itself, that, for the story's needs, by hook or by crook, she may fulfil the stipulations thus set by Bertram for securing him for a husband in spite of himself. The dramatic complication is solved from without, not from within, by an answer to a riddle. In both comedies, then, story carries it with a high hand. Gloom or bitterness over sexual evils, if the poet felt it, does not loom large enough to spoil the mirth and sport which these furnish, and ideas on the subject hardly put in an appearance at all.

Nor in this regard, as in most regards, is Shakespeare at all aloof from the spirit of his age. In Elizabethan plays, as in the Greek, there are plenty of principles enounced and morals pointed, but explicitly, and to improve an occasion, as in set speeches such as the Duke's to Claudio or in the Greek choruses, or as at the close of the *Antigone* and of *Doctor Faustus*, and frequently, in Elizabethan plays, in the final lines or couplet of the scene. The informing and

¹ Cf. III, 5, 71 f., where Helena's thought, strangely enough to our ears, anticipates her husband's lascivious purposes. Likewise Imogen is prompt to blame her husband's misdeeds on the arts of some courtesan.

pervading idea they do not know. Mr. Stuart Sherman, in an interesting essay, finds "problems" in John Ford. But Ford is now for the law-breaker, now for the law, and first and always for story and situation. There is no appreciable evidence of his celebrating a brave vice above a cowardly virtue or the promptings of the heart above passive acceptance. For the moment he may seem to do so, but, as with Annabella and Giovanni, Bianca and Fernando, the casuistry is soon lost in sophistry and ribaldry, or in a conventional whitewashing or repentance at the end. Now his heroines harshly repulse unlawful advances, now they woo them with passionate fervor; now they soar to the pinnacles of platonism, now they jest, ogle, or brazen out their shame as if it were shame indeed. Conduct such as this presents no problem, and Ford is but playing with morals, like a painter with pigments, a little more boldly than Fletcher and Massinger, yet, like them, only for thrills and complications. He has no cause at heart, most of the time no idea in mind, but only enticing story and the questioning, questionable figures of men and women.

What folly it is to trace underlying ideas appears from the fact that in general Shakespeare's art employs little suggestion—it is his "eternal unsuggestiveness," says the uncompromisingly modern Mr. Shaw, that vexes *him*—and like all early art, like the Greek drama for instance, it is explicit. The Elizabethan drama and the Greek have many other structural qualities and excellences, such as those of symmetry and continuity, emphasis, contrast, and parallelism, but not those modern ones of succinctness, pregnancy, point. By the chorus, as we have already seen, or substitutes for the chorus, by the choice of familiar stories for the fable, by the archlike structure with the climax in the center instead of our "strong curtains," by anticipation—omens, forebodings, disclosures—instead of our suspense and surprises, the matter in hand was accommodated to the needs of an audience that did little reading and, within a score of years or more, had delighted in childish interludes or their Thespian equivalents. Conditions were somewhat as those described in the story of the old London stage-manager, who said—I quote from Mr. Matthews' version—that if you want the British public to understand anything you must tell them you are going to do it,

next that you are doing it, and last that you have done it—"and then, confound 'em, perhaps they'll understand you." Everything—even the jokes—was explicit; often whole scenes were given over to explanation, as at the close of *Romeo and Juliet* and at the beginning of the third act of *King Lear*. In such an age, would such a poet leave his audience to its own devices with cases of subconscious self-deception, racial psychology, or underlying ideas on its hands? It has been suggested that in Iago's outcry at Emilia's treason—"villainous whore!"—there is curious proof of Iago's inability to hold by his creed that absolute egoism is the only proper attitude. Such subtle, mincing interpretation, in which Shakespeare criticism abounds, may be put to its shifts by an array of cases where Shakespeare, thinking the psychology a bit difficult, lets the character himself or another explain it; as when Desdemona stops in her badinage with Iago, while they wait on the quay, to remark that she beguiles the time to seem more merry than she is, or when Enobarbus explains Antony's affectionateness with the servitors as one of those odd tricks which sorrow shoots out of the mind. To indicate the place of action and the character of the properties, the Elizabethan stage used signs and labels, and, for purposes of its own, the Elizabethan drama did not scorn to use them too.

The surface meaning, then, rather than the recondite, the larger meaning rather than the detailed and minute, no underlying idea, and, as a matter of course, no symbolism. All the symbolism there was in Shakespeare's day was that prim and palpable sort, allegory; and allegory, most critics will admit, Shakespeare eschews. But in this day of symbolism, when a second intention is apparent in the language of essayists as well as of poets, and even lyceum orators speak in parables, shall Shakespeare do less than these? Ariel, Prospero's familiar spirit, although interesting enough in his elemental qualities as a character, a sprite, and no more, is turned by Professor Churton Collins into a symbol of genius; Caliban and nearly all of the other characters, down to Trinculo and Stephano, into a symbol of something or other, too big or vague to be covered by a single word. The ghosts and witches, although they bear all the earmarks of superstition, have been refined away into hallucinations, into personifications of conscience

or a "sense of an egregious mistake," or into symbols of powers beyond the reaches of our souls. A like change has been wrought in whole plays, as *The Tempest*, and in many a passage. "But what is your affair in Elsinore?" asks Hamlet of Horatio at their first meeting, and jestingly adds, just as a Bostonian might with a reference to beans or a Kentuckian with one to horse-racing, "We'll teach you to drink deep ere you depart"; but Mr. Sothern, oblivious of Danish plotting and wassailing, delivers the words as if Horatio were to drink of the cup of sorrow. In the same spirit M. Stapfer detects "an allusion to the glorious dawn of liberty" in the words of Casca as, to make talk, he declares that the high east is by the Capitol. So, too, the accessories—scene and background, portents and omens—are made by modern criticism to melt and dissolve, in symbolical significance, into the body and substance of the play. The storm in *Lear* is made a symbol of men's passions, the storm and portents and omens in *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar* are conceived as if they were as parabolic in purport as the storm in Ibsen's *When We Dead Awaken* or as the portents and omens in Maeterlinck's *Princesse Maleine*.

In dramas nowadays all such matters, as well as every incident and every line of the text, may have a deeper meaning in relation to the deeper meaning of the whole. In such art there is something like the pre-established harmony that Leibnitz divined in the universe, and every monad mirrors every other monad. Nothing stands by or for itself, and there is a depth and spirituality, if one may use the phrase, an atmosphere or wealth of overtones, not to be found in poetry before this age of science and philosophy, painting and music. In the art of the Elizabethan drama, on the other hand, there is something solid, something impervious to thought. The figures are plastic, modeled in the round—like the actors themselves, who were stationed almost in the center of the house and seen from every side—instead of flat as in a picture, grouped in light and shade and in delicate harmony with background, incident, or one another. The omens and forebodings are literal, objective, binding; like the ghosts, they are there for the story's sake and are never etherealized into a symbol and lifted into the realm of ideas. Delicate interrelation of parts, cunning economy of resource, are not char-

acteristics of this art (which is, on the other hand, opulent, redundant, explicit) and details have not the modern momentousness and saliency. Even matters so large as Hamlet's melancholy and his love for Ophelia are, so far as Shakespeare himself discloses, unconnected; and the set speech, improving the occasion (but not the play), as Emilia's on husbands, Hamlet's on drunkenness, and Jaques' on the seven ages of man, is, we have seen, a common thing both in Shakespeare and in the Elizabethan drama generally. Such laxities of structure measure for us the gap between Shakespeare's art and our art for art's sake, especially between it and that succinct and intricate type of structure, as in the *Master Builder*, where detail ceases to be detail, and the ties of sense and logic are merged into the fine, impalpable web of symbol.

Yet many sympathetic readers of a play like *King Lear* involuntarily take it as symbolic, or at least receive from it a "mass of vague suggestion" not unlike that of the critics who do. This may even be a *sine qua non* of their appreciation, though appreciation it really is not. Is there no difference in form and tenor between Shakespeare's colossal tale, of pity and terror all compact, and the dramatic parables and adumbrations of Maeterlinck or Ibsen, which tease out us of thought as doth eternity? No one is justified in receiving a mass of vague suggestion from an opera of Mozart's as from one of Wagner's, or from a symphony of Haydn's as from one of Brahms'. And yet today there is no service done by critics like Swinburne, Mr. Watts-Dunton, or Mr. Bradley, who have the poet's gift, so welcome to the reader or, we may add, performed so generously, as this of eliciting the suggestion, of enveloping the bold and rugged Elizabethan outlines with atmosphere, and depth of light and shade. It is called interpretation—it is assimilation, rather, a process not unlike the editing and amplifying of the score of old masters such as Handel and Bach by moderns like Franz and Liszt. On the stage, however—even on our picture-stage, and how much more on the stage of the Elizabethans—this adventitious atmosphere is dissipated, and the huge solidity of *Lear* or *Macbeth* stares us in the face. That is why these poetical critics and the sympathetic readers commonly deprecate the acting of Shakespeare, Goethe even avowing that he prefers to listen to a

good reader, with eyes shut! A strange interpretation theirs, according to which the fulness of the dramatic effect and meaning is thwarted by the only means of securing it that, to judge by his neglect of text and publication, ever occupied Shakespeare's thoughts!

Nor has atmosphere been enough—some of the harsher outlines and more glaring colors have had to be softened. Falstaff, Shylock, Macbeth, Othello, Hamlet (if we dared to broach that subject)—how changed they are! Falstaff is held to be, not a robber, a coward, a liar, a boaster, or even a drunkard, *per se*, but all of these for the jest's sake and to set his wits above other men's. Shylock, the butt, has taken a black wig for the red—a "Judas color" it was—and now fills the scene as protagonist. The fears and horrors of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth have melted into remorse. And Othello, consistently exhibited in the play as jealous, though not "easily" so, has the name of not being jealous at all. Reckless alike of time and of text, a people finds in its poet, as in its Bible, what it has already in its heart.¹

Particularly when the poet is a dramatist and it comes to a question of justice and the moral order. In a recent article² in the *Atlantic Monthly* Professor R. M. Alden shows how variously and absurdly that question has been answered, in accordance with the prevalent ethical and artistic prepossessions, in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth; and himself sides with those who answer it, as it seems to me, in accordance with the prepossessions of the twentieth. The early eighteenth century complained that Shakespeare did not conform to the ideal of "poetical justice," that the wicked be punished and the good rewarded; and the later eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, by dint of much misinterpretation, found that he did. The later nineteenth century and the twentieth century, on the other hand, acknowledge that though in Shakespeare's tragedies the wicked are punished, the good are not rewarded, but suffer and die. So it ought to be, the critics declare, yet behind this pessimism they discern a sign of reconciliation in the spiritual

¹ I am aware that in this paragraph, as at other points in the article (*vide*, especially pp. 4, 5, 16, 17), I have not brought in evidence to support my assertions. The article is only preliminary to a more minute discussion, which I have planned, of Elizabethan ideas and technique.

² February, 1910.

life of the characters, towering above "the welter of suffering and death." Why this change in attitude? Moral notions have changed, aesthetic notions have changed no less. It is the day of Darwin, Nietzsche, Pater. We no longer believe as of old in compensation or retribution, and in a work of art we demand, not morals, but causes and effects, linked together in a relation as inevitable as in Nature itself. Inevitable, not merited, is now the word. But of all this Shakespeare had heard nothing, and, like the other serious playwrights of his time, he makes old-fashioned justice go as far as he can, farther in some directions than did the Greeks, often farther than our taste can follow, and beyond these limits he has recourse to an exterior fate, the stars, Fortune and her wheel.¹ And as for the reconciliation, all it amounts to is, that his heroes and heroines are such indeed. So much the more, then, "the pity of it," and nowhere does Shakespeare hold out the consolations cherished by Mr. Dowden or Mr. Bradley. They would baffle and defeat his tragic purpose. Transcendentalist to the core, Mr. Bradley discovers in the poet intimations of a larger world-order, wherein the outward is nothing and the inward is all, and what happens to a being like Cordelia does not matter—all that matters is what she is—and the more senseless and monstrous her fate, the less does it concern her. But it is on her fate—her calamity, which is Lear's and all the world's—that the emphasis is laid, the most terrific of which Shakespeare was ever master, and her loveliness of spirit serves but to give it point. Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life, and *thou* no life at all? Bewail the dead bitterly, says the Son of Sirach, as he is worthy. And as there is no reconciliation, so we cannot say that there is pessimism. For the endings of Shakespeare's plays warrant no conclusions touching his views of life. They are not parables, as the plays themselves are not. Often they are perfunctory, often they are brought about by the intrusion of chance rather than by the operation of a tragic cause, and never do they break with convention in a way that intimates an ulterior meaning.¹ In comedy, after the precept and practice of the day, all ends in comfort and cheer, in tragedy all in gloom and disaster, and in

¹See note above, p. 15. In this paragraph particularly I have had to refrain from undertaking to say all that is to be said.

neither do the wicked prosper or escape reproach. Life, then or now, is not like that. Nor is it like a poet to write at one time only comedies, and such comedies, at another only tragedies, and such tragedies, then, at the last, comedies once more, all from the bottom of his heart. For optimism or pessimism such as that, one, in turn, totally eclipsing the other, neither you nor I would give much; but a critic would—and neatly map out Shakespeare's inner life into the now prescriptive three periods, joyous, somber, and serene. John Webster, if they tried him, would fit the scheme as well. A hard lot the dramatist's in the sixteenth century, for between comedy and tragedy, immitigable cheer and gloom, he must make his choice, and then not only write his play but live it.¹

Some of the points of view presented in this article and others similarly historical have won acceptance with the aesthetic critics; but such a hold has tradition, or the sanctities of impressionism, that in several cases there has arisen a parallel to the Renaissance fiction—refuge of Pomponazzi and the other scientific skeptics—of the "twofold truth." Science is true and Scripture also is true, cried they, in fear of the stake or in horror of heresy; and the critics say the same of Shakespeare, modern and Elizabethan. Mr. John Corbin, who believes that there are comic aspects to the mad scenes, now ignored, nevertheless declares that "the modern Hamlet is the true Hamlet. In the truest sense of the word he is the Shakespearean Hamlet; and will continue so until new ages shall add new beauties to our interpretation." And Mr. Johnson maintains, with reference to an article which appeared two years ago in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*,² on the "Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakespeare," that "the original intention of the author and the sense in which the Elizabethan audience took representatives of supernatural beings are of very little consequence in comparison with the plays themselves, enriched as they are by aesthetic interpretation for two centuries."³ Both writers, then,

¹ As a matter of fact, he wrote to suit the taste of his day. Cf. Thorndike's *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher and my John Webster*.

² Vol. XXII, No. 2.

³ Somewhat in the same vein Dr. Brandes (p. 372) speaks of "one generation after another throwing its imagination into the problem, and depositing in Hamlet's soul the sum of its experience." A strange inversion of procedure—imparting a meaning instead of deriving it—but heaven knows, that is just what has been done.

hold that the modern interpretation (if the singular can be used of a body of thought so confused and contradictory) must not be surrendered. Both seem to be of the opinion that what our best actors and critics divine or devise is true, and that the truest interpretation of a play is that which is the most satisfying. Truth such as this is a word, and criticism becomes the creature of a whim. Not content with affirming the validity of the poetic vision, the critics affirm the validity of the critical. That is the crying evil of the situation—not that we commit anachronisms, but that we are a prey to them, recognizing no criterion to judge between them and the truth of history or of text, and that we have the prospect of the twofold truth becoming a hundredfold as the new ages add to the most bewildering, bewildered body of literature under the sun. "Every people, every decade, every independent interpreter," to use Professor Brandl's unaffrighted words, getting "something new out of the thousand-sided symbolism of Hamlet," and duly recording it to the confusion and contradiction of all that had been got before! Science, history, any sort of criticism except the Shakespearean and the impressionistic, struggles and edges toward the truth, but this sort has not truth for its goal. And this, in almost all cases, not from principle—a convinced subjectivity like that of M. Anatole France or adherence to the doctrines of pragmatism—but from lack of principle.

"Chacun des différents arts," as M. Beaunier has recently reminded us, "est un moyen d'expression," and surely in literature, though Lowell and M. Stapfer have said the contrary, there can be no artistic effect apart from the intention, the meaning, and the personality of the author, or the spirit of his age. There may be beauties in his work of which he himself was not fully or, perhaps, at all aware—beauties of expression or of his own character coming to light spontaneously. But there can be no beauties, still less ideas, foreign to his nature, education, and time; and that a genius by some occult and mystic power can anticipate these, or will contrive to tickle to laughter the vulgar taste of his fellows with what is designed to move and thrill the hearts of ages yet unborn is, to me at least, as naïve a notion as the myth of "inspiration." Tragedy wrapped up in comedy were a cryptogram

indeed, and an *arrière pensée* such as this, if psychologically it be possible, is little in keeping with art so ingenuous, a temperament so engrossed with the life of his time, or an attitude so indifferent to the fate of his dramatic work, as Shakespeare's. What beauties or ideas our fathers and forefathers found in an author, moreover, matters not, except as a bit of sentiment or of history, if they were not there. Must we still find what our fathers found in Pope and Ossian, or in Carlo Dolci and the Apollo Belvedere? Criticism is not a cult, nor does it know authority or precedent. And comparisons of *Hamlet* to a "Cremona bettered by every master hand that plays it," or to a "cathedral softening in outline with the centuries" or "hallowed by the footsteps of generations," are wide the mark: these are natural, secular phenomena, producing an effect aesthetic, indeed, but not artistic. Still less matters what we today find in Shakespeare, in the fulness of our culture, the pride of our taste, and the reach of our artistic expression and cravings, except as we are able to slip out of the toils of these to Shakespeare himself. His works are his words. Any meaning put upon them which bears no relation to his personality and time is fantastic and illusory; any which contradicts what we know of these is by that very fact null and void. Hamlet, the Ghosts, Shylock, all the varied riches of his utterance must be to us, not what they have been or are, but that modified and corrected by whatever we can discover that they were to him.

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NOTE.—At the last moment I recognize on pages 11 and 13 traces, more definite than I care to pass by unacknowledged, of indebtedness to the work of Professor Lewis Campbell and Mr. John Corbin. From Mr. Corbin's Essay on *Hamlet* come the phrases quoted on this page.

A SOURCE OF EUPHUES. THE ANATOMY OF WYT

The popularity and influence of *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt* (1578) can hardly be ascribed to the didactic and moralizing matter which it contains in such abundance. Tedious to the modern reader, this matter needed something other than itself to render it palatable even to the Elizabethan. The pill must have been sugar-coated. Nor could the style alone—"Euphuism"—have so widely popularized a collection of dull diatribes on education, friendship, love, and theology. Euphuism, indeed, had actually been tried before without popularizing the dull works it had somewhat adorned. Characterized by tricks of antithesis and balance older than Gorgias, itself only a phase of the general European revival of the artificial rhetoric of antiquity,¹ it had, in particular, been quite definitely anticipated in English years before the appearance of *Euphues*. To retell a twice-told tale: Guevara's *Libro del Emperador Marco Aurelio* in North's translation, *The Diall of Princes* (1557), gave Lyly not only much of his didactic matter, but, occasionally, a model for his style as well; while Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure* (licensed, and probably published, 1576) exhibited, as Dr. Landmann has also shown,² "to the minutest detail, all the specific elements of Euphuism." Yet we do not hear that either of these works was notably popular; and it was to neither North nor Pettie that the imitators attached themselves, but to Lyly.

The reason is almost too simple. Lyly has a good long story to tell. It is a story which, though deficient in action, is full of interesting situations exhibiting contemporary manners; which in its attempts at characterization, crude though they be, effectively portrays certain universal types—the coquette Lucilla, the perpetual lover Philautus, Euphues the malcontent; and which, finally, is articulated with real skill, its material being artistically distributed

¹ Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 780, 786 ff.

² Introduction to his edition of *Euphues*, Heilbronn (1887), p. xxi. This, as far as I am aware, is Dr. Landmann's latest work on the subject. I therefore quote it rather than his dissertation *Der Euphuismus* (Glessen, 1881), or his paper in the *Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society* (1885).

into successive stages and scenes that evolve naturally one from another. In a word, where North and Pettie offered respectively a series of edifying anecdotes and a series of short love tales from the antique, Lyly offers the first English novel.

Hitherto, however, the volume of Lyly's didactic and moralizing matter and the interest justly attaching to his style have tended to obscure the importance of his plot. The sources of the former have been found; while the source of the latter has never, as far as I know, been sought. Scholarship has scarcely thought the plot worth noticing at all. Dr. Landmann,¹ Mr. Bond,² and Professor Atkins³ are agreed that the story as such is inconsiderable, almost negligible.

Surely this opinion does but scant justice to a story which, in very brief summary, still bulks as large, and offers as much of interest, as the following:

Euphues, a young gentleman of Athens, during a sojourn at Naples makes friends with a Neapolitan, Philautus, who is the accepted lover of Lucilla, daughter of Don Ferardo, a governor of the city. In the course of time Philautus introduces Euphues to Lucilla. Euphues falls in love with her at sight, retires in confusion,⁴ and in a soliloquy weighing his love against his friendship determines that his love shall prevail. Philautus seeks him out at his lodging, and, finding him sick, asks his confidence and proffers his own good offices. Euphues deceives his friend by feigning that he is love-sick for Livia, one of Lucilla's companions. Having thus disarmed suspicion, he the more readily finds an opportunity to woo Lucilla, who after some hesitation admits that she returns his love. Shortly afterward, when her father urges her to marry Philautus, she declares in Philautus' presence that she prefers Euphues. A breach between the friends is the result. As Ferardo opposes the new match, Euphues must for a time avoid Lucilla. During his absence she falls in love with one Curio, and definitely jilts Euphues

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxii.

² *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 159; cf. 141, 162.

³ In *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York and Cambridge, 1909), III, 392.

⁴ At the same time Lucilla, likewise in a soliloquy, confesses to herself that she loves Euphues, and resolves to have him despite the probable opposition of her father.

when he next appears. Her fickleness forms the basis of a renewal of friendship between Euphues and Philautus. Euphues, now a confirmed misogynist, retires to Athens to resume his studies. Lucilla's marriage to Curio so grieves Ferardo that he dies; and, though she is left heir to his wealth, she comes to a disgraceful end on the streets of Naples. Philautus, it is hinted, is courting Livia. So closes *Euphues*. *The Anatomy of Wyt*.

Now in the sources of *Euphues* hitherto recognized there exists no trace of this plot. When Dr. Landmann¹ says that not only the style, but the "contents," of *Euphues* are imitated from Guevara, he is thinking of these contents as a collection of essays, moral lectures, treatises, and letters, not as a story.

But there does exist in a source accessible to Lyly the earlier part of the story of *Euphues*—its opening situation and almost exactly its evolution and articulation, together with hints for the later part. A young stranger, Tito, sojourning in Athens, becomes the friend of a young citizen, Gisippo; is by him introduced to his betrothed, Sofronia, a maiden of noble birth; falls in love with her immediately² and retires to his chamber; soliloquizes, determining that his love must prevail over his friendship; falls sick of love; is visited by his friend; receives his friend's request for confidence and offer of service; and, at first, deceives his friend. Such is the beginning of Boccaccio's tale of Tito, Gisippo, and Sofronia, *Decameron*, Giornata X, novella 8. Here the two plots part company;³ for Boccaccio's is a tale of true friendship, Tito at length confessing to Gisippo his love for Sofronia, and Gisippo yielding her to him,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxii. I have not had access to Guevara's work in the Spanish. Neither Lord Berners' translation, *The volume of Marke Aurelie emperour, otherwise called the golden booke*, which I have examined in Berthelet's edition of 1538, nor North's translation, *The Diall of Princes*, which I have examined in the first edition, 1557, contains any trace of the plot of *Euphues*. For the rest, it is to be presumed that Dr. Landmann has made out as strong a case as possible for Guevara as Lyly's source. In the absence of any citation by Dr. Landmann indicating the least indebtedness of Lyly to Guevara for his plot, I conclude that no such indebtedness exists. Mr. Bond, too, whose definitive edition embodies previous research from Morley (1861) to Child (1894), has nothing on this point.

² Here there is nothing to correspond to Lucilla's soliloquy (*ante*, p. 3, n. 1).

³ Except that in each there occurs again the *motif* of opposition, on the part of the young woman's kindred, to her marriage with a stranger (*cf. ante*, p. 3, n. 1). Ferardo disapproves strongly of his daughter's match with Euphues; the opposition of Sofronia's relatives to Tito is so violent that he is obliged to make them a long speech ending with threats of a Roman's vengeance. Indeed, this piece of rhetoric is one of the centers of interest in Boccaccio's tale.

while Lyly's is a tale of friendship betrayed and faithless love. But, as far as it goes, the parallel is exact.

Boccaccio's story was so famous during the Renaissance that he has the credit of adding another pair to the classical pairs of friends. Koeppl¹ speaks of "die berühmten Freundschaftstypen Titus und Gisippus, die im 16ten Jahrhundert in England nie fehlen dürfen wenn von Freundschaft die Rede ist"; and again:² "In der englischen Litteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts finden sich zahllose Anspielungen auf die Helden dieser Erzählung [i. e., *Decam.*, X, 8]; jeder Autor, der das Thema der Freundschaft berührt, nennt ihre Namen. Es wäre zwecklos, den Leser mit der Menge der mir vorliegenden Belege zu belästigen."

Lyly himself twice mentions Titus and Gisippus in the same group with Damon and Pythias, etc. Euphues, tendering friendship to Philautus, says (I, 198):³ "*Damon to his Pythias, Pylades to his Orestes, Titus to his Gysippus, Theseus to his Pyrothus, Scipio to his Laelius*, was never foūd more faithfull then *Euphues* will be to his *Philautus*."⁴ And again, in remonstrance (II, 102-3): "... all friendes that associate at bedde and at boord, are not one of disposition. *Scipio* must haue a noble minde, *Laelius* an humble spirite: *Titus* must lust after *Sempronia*,⁵ *Gisippus* must leaue hir: *Damon* must goe take order for his lands, *Pithias* must tarry behinde, as a Pledge for his life: *Philautus* must doe what he will, *Euphues* not what he should."

Though the *Decameron* did not appear in an English translation until 1620,⁶ the story of Tito and Gisippo was, presumably, accessible

¹ "Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle in der englischen Litteratur des XVI Jahrhunderts." *Quellen und Forschungen* (Straßburg, 1892), LXX, 23.

² *Ibid.*, 85.

³ References are to volume and page of Mr. Bond's edition, in which Vol. I contains *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt*, and Vol. II *Euphues and his England*.

⁴ "Four of these five instances occur together in Hyg., *Fab.*, 257, and the fifth (Titus and Gysippus) appears in a sentence of Pettie's *Pallace*, the exact form of which is here borrowed—"... neuer Pithias to his Damon, Pylades to his Orestes, nor Gisippus to his Titus was more true, then I wyl be to you" (f. 40r)."—Bond, I, 335 (note *ad loc.*).

⁵ Sic for *Sofronia*. The same slip in Mr. Bond's "Errata et Addenda," I, 542.

⁶ M. A. Scott, "Elizabethan Translations from the Italian." *Modern Language Association Publications*, X, 287-88; Koeppl, *op. cit.*, 86-87. The English *Decameron* of 1620 is reprinted as vols. XL-XLIV of the "Tudor Translations." David Nutt, London, 1909.

to Lyly in one or another of at least eight versions,¹ besides the original. Of these I have been able to examine only two, those of Beroaldus and Elyot. I find no evidence that Lyly drew from either of them; on the contrary, the following parallels, together with the similarities in situation and articulation, point directly to Boccaccio,

¹ I. 1495(?). A Latin translation by Philippus Beroaldus: *Mithica historia Johannis Boccatii, poetae laureati, de Tito Romano, Gisippoque Atheniensi, philosophiae tironibus ac commilitonibus, amicitiae vim elucidans, nuper per Philippum Beroaldum ex italico in latinum transversa*; 4to, Brit. Mus.; n. d.; n. p.; conjectured Leipzig, 1495.—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 447.—H. H. S. Croft, ed. of Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* (London, 1883), II, 132, n. c. Croft reprints the version of Beroaldus, *ibid.*, 133 ff.

II. 1503-13. A Latin translation by Roberto Nobili, cardinal of Montepulciano: *Boccacii Gisippus sive de Amicitia*, dedicated to Pope Julius II (1503-13).—Moutier, ed. *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Firenze, 1827-34), V, 71, n. 1, reproducing a note by Martinelli.

III. 1509. A Latin translation by Matteo Bandello: *Titi Romani et Hegesippi Atheniensis Historia in Latinum versa per Fr. Mattheum Bandellum Castronovensem. Mediolani, apud Gotard de Ponte, 1509*; 4to (so according to Warton).—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 447.—*Titi Romani et Egesippi atheniensis amicorum historia in Latinum versa. Mediolani 1509* (so according to Brunet).—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84.

IV. Before 1534(?). An English metrical version by Wm. Walter: *Ye hystory of Tytus & Gesyppus translated out of latyn into englyshe by Wyllyam Walter*. London [n. d., 4to]. By me Wynkyn de Worde [who died 1534?]. (Walter's source is uncertain; Brunet says it is Bandello's version).—Scott, *op. cit.*.—Koeppel, *op. cit.*

V. 1531. An English prose version by Sir Thomas Elyot: *The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect amitie*. This is Book II, chap. xii, of *The Boke named the Governour* (1531). (Elyot's version differs from the original in several respects).—Croft's edition of *The Governour*, II, 132 ff.—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 446.—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84, n. 3.—Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 542.

VI. 1547-53. A Latin school-play by Ralph Radclif: *Radulphus Radclif . . . scripsit . . . De Titi et Gisippi firmissima amicitia, co. i. "Tenebrosa nocte hac procellis diris," etc.*—Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. Poole (Oxford, 1902), 332-33; who asserts that he saw the book of this play in Radclif's library. Bale's context shows that Radclif wrote the play to be performed by his pupils in the theater he had built in his schoolhouse.—Temp. Edward VI (1547-53), now lost. Miss Scott's suggestion (*op. cit.*, X, 288-89; XI, 447) that this may be identical with VIII (below) seems to me improbable.

VII. 1562. An English metrical version by Edward Lewicke: *The most wonderfull and pleasant history of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frenshyp [sic], drawn into English metre*. By Edward Lewicke. Anno 1562.—So given by Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 446.—Shown by J. P. Collier, *The Poetical Decameron*, II, 84, 85, to follow Elyot's version closely.—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84, n. 3.—Croft, *op. cit.*, II, 132, n. c.—Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 542.

VIII. 1577. A play (probably English) acted at court, February 17, 1577: *The Historye of Titus and Gisippus shoven at White-hall on Shroue-tuysdaie at night [1576-77], enacted by the Children of Paules*.—Feuillerat, ed. *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain 1908), pp. 270, 461 n.—Cunningham's *Extracts*, p. 114, cited by Bond, I, 335.

For some future time I reserve a discussion of Boccaccio's sources—the O. F. poem "Athis et Prophilias" (circa 1300), and Fabula II in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus (shortly after 1105), together with other versions of the "Legend of Two Friends." For the present it may be remarked, first, that as there are at least four points in which V (above) both differs from Boccaccio and agrees with *Athis and Prophilias*, I am led to suppose that Elyot was acquainted with the contents of the latter; second, that the whole series probably has two originals, the one oriental, the other a late Greek romance now lost.

or to some very faithful rendering of Boccaccio, as his immediate source.

Decameron X, 8

(Page-numbers from *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Moutier [Firenze 1827-34], Vol. V.)

72-73. Publio Quinzio Fulvo, il quale avendo un suo figliuolo, Tito . . . nominato, di, *maraviglioso ingegno*, ad *imprender filosofia* il mandò ad *Atene*.

73. E venendo i due giovani usando insieme . . . una fratellanza e una amicizia si grande ne nacque tra loro, che mai poi da altro caso che da morte *non fu separata. Niun di loro aveva nè ben nè riposo se non tanto quanto erano insieme.* . . .²

73-74. trovarongli una giovane di *maravigliosa bellezza e di nobilissimi parenti discesa e cittadina d'Atene*, il cui nome era Sofronia.

74. Gisippo pregò un dì Tito che *con lui andasse a vederla, che veduta ancora non l'avea*. E nella casa di

lei venuti, ed essa sedendo in mezzo d'amenduni, Tito . . . *la cominciò attentissimo a riguardare*, e . . . si

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt

(Page-numbers from Bond, Vol. I.)

(*The italics are mine*)

184. [Euphues] dwelt in *Athens*.¹ Nature added to this comliness of his body . . . *a sharpe capacitie of minde.* . . . This young gallant of more wit then wealth, etc.

286. [After his return to Athens, Euphues] gaue his minde to the continuall *studye of Philosophie*.

199. Their friendship augmented euery day, insomuch *y^e the one could not refraine y^e company of y^e other one minute.*

199. Don Ferardo one of the chief *gouernours of the citie*, who although he had a courtly crewe of gentlewomen sojourning in his pallace, yet *his daughter stained the beautie of them all . . . this gallant gyrle more faire then fortunate* and yet more fortunate then faithfull, *eclipsed the beautie of them all.*

200. [Philautus] came not as he was accustomed solitarily alone, but *accompanied with his friende Euphues.*

201. And so *they all sate downe*, but Euphues *fed of one dish which euer stode before him, the beautie of Lucilla.* . . . Heere Euphues at the

¹ "Athens" may be adopted from Guevara. See Landmann, pp. xxiii-xxiv; Bond, I, 155, *ad fin.*, and note *ad loc.*, I, 329.

² Boccaccio adds (p. 73): "e in cotal vita perseveraron ben tre anni." Lyly's purpose is better served by making the friendship between Euphues and Philautus one that is easily broken, and therefore sudden in its beginnings. At the same time, he prefers to make Philautus a genuine and a constant lover of Lucilla, rather than, like Gisippo, a person content to let his friends choose him a wife. The long service of Philautus also renders Euphues' treachery the more heinous. Philautus says (p. 214): "Concerning Liula though shee bee faire, yet is shee not so amiable as my Lucilla, whose seruauit I haue bene the tearme of three yeares."

Decameron X, 8

fortemente di lei s'accese, quanto alcuno amante di donna s'accendesse giammai. Ma poichè alquanto con lei stati furono, partitisi, a casa se ne tornarono. Quivi Tito solo

nella sua camera entratosene seco cominciò a dire: dove, e in che pon tu l'animo e l'amore e la speranza tua? Or non conosci tu per la intera amicizia la quale è tra te e Gisippo questa giovane convenirsi avere in quella reverenza

75. che sorella? Che dunque ami? dove ti lasci trasportare alla lusinghevole speranza? Da luogo alla ragione, raffrena il concupiscibile appetito. . . . E poi di Sofronia ricordandosi, in contrario volgendo, ogni cosa detta dannava, dicendo: le leggi d'amore sono di maggior potenza

che alcune altre: *elle rompono, non che quelle della amistà, ma le divine.*¹

Both Tito and Euphues now cite classical precedents, but Lyly substitutes more appropriate ones here:

Quante volte ha già il padre la figliuola amata? il fratello la sorella? la matrigna il figliastro?

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt

first sighte was so kindled with desyre, that almost he was lyke to burn to coales.

205. But Euphues taking Philautus by the hande and giuing the gentlewomen thanckes for their patience and his repast, badde them all farewell, and went immediately to his chamber.

208. Amiddest therefore his extremities betweene hope and feare, hee

uttered these or the lyke speaches. . . . Was there euer any so fickle so soone to be allured? *any euer so faithless to deceiue his friend?*

(After two paragraphs more on this side of the argument, Euphues likewise makes a sudden turn, and takes the other side.)

Neyther is it forbidden us by the gods to loue; neyther do wee want remedies to recure our maladies, but reason to use the meanes. But why goe I about to hinder the course of loue with the discourse

209. of law? Yes Euphues, where loue beareth sway, friendship can haue no shew.

210. Did not Giges cut Candaules a coate by his own measure? Did not Paris though he were a welcome guest to Menelaus serue his hoste a slippery prancke?

(Lyly reserves Boccaccio's precedents for an occasion when they will be in point:)

¹ Paralleled again, and more closely, by II, 109: "slender affection do I think that, which either the feare of Law, or care of Religion, may diminish."

Decameron, X, 8

76. E da questo ragionamento, . . .
*tornando in sul contrario, e di questo
 in quello, e di quello in questo*, non
 solamente quel giorno e la notte segu-
 ente consumò, mà più altri, intanto
 che il cibo e'l sonno *perdutone*, per

debolezza fu costretto a giacere

Gisippo *se ne doleva forte . . . e
 s'ingegnava di confortarlo*, spesso e
 con istanzia domandandolo della
*cagione de' suoi pensieri e della in-
 fermità. Mà avendogli più volte
 Tito dato favole per risposta. . . .*

ecc.

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt

231. [Lucilla answers Ferardo:]
 You neede not muse that I shoulde
 so sodeinly bee intangled, loue giues
 no reason of choice, neither will it
 suffer anye repulse. *Mirha was
 enamoured of hir naturall Father,
 Biblis of her brother, Phaedra of hir
 sonne in law.*¹

(Boccaccio's cases cited in the same
 order.)

(Could anything better describe the
 Euphuistic soliloquy, with its quick
 turns and "I but"s?)

211. Euphues hauing thus talked
 with himselfe, Philautus entered the
 chamber, and finding him so worne
 and wasted with continual mourning,
*neither ioying in his meate, nor
 reioycing in his friend, with watry
 eyes vttered this speach.* Friende
 and fellow, as I am not ignoraunt of
 thy present *weaknesse*, so am I not
 priuie of the *cause* . . . either re-

move the *cause* or reueale it. . . .
 If altogether thou maist not be cured,
 yet

212. maist thou be *comforted*. . . .
 Euphues hearing this *cōfort* and
 friendly counsaile, *dissēbled* his sor-
 rowing hart, with a smiling face,
aunswering him forthwith as fol-
 loweth.

210. [Euphues had already re-
 solved:] Let Philautus behaue him
 selfe neuer so craftely . . . *I meane
 a little to dissemble with him in wyles.*

Here, as has been said, the two stories part company. Yet it
 is hard not to believe that the last words quoted from Boccaccio—
 those "favole" with which Tito tried to deceive Gisippo until con-

¹ Partly repeated, II, 113: "And so farre hath this humour crepte into the minde,
 that Biblis loued hir brother, Myrra hir Father, Canace hir nephew."

strained to acknowledge his love—gave Lyly an important hint for his continuation. Let Euphues simply persist in his “favole”; let him actually deceive Philautus and take Lucilla from him: thenceforth the remainder of the tale will consist of a series of retributions growing naturally out of this initial wrong. Crude poetic justice will demand that Euphues’ treachery be punished by Lucilla’s desertion of him, and that, in turn, Lucilla’s infidelity be punished by her coming to a bad end; so that at last there will be left only Philautus and Livia as possible lovers.

However this may be—whether Lyly was or was not indebted to Boccaccio for the end of his story—it seems safe to say that he was indebted to him for the beginning, and for the articulation and evolution of it as long as Boccaccio’s tale would serve his purpose. That it did serve his purpose admirably is proved by his popularity and influence in his own time, and in ours by the more than historical interest, rather the “human” interest, which, apart from the philosophy and the style of *Euphues*, even now attaches to his plot.

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SOME SOURCES OF SEALSFIELD

In *Modern Language Notes* (XXIII, No. 6) I pointed out the source of the first chapter of *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre*, erster Teil (the separate title of the novel is *George Howard's, Esq., Brautfahrt*). At that time I again called attention to Sealsfield's evident familiarity with the American *Unterhaltungsektüre*, pastime fiction, of the twenties of the nineteenth century.

By diligent quest along lines mapped out by me, my wife has succeeded in unearthing a considerable number of sources from which beyond a doubt Sealsfield drew directly and copiously for his pictures of American life. Some of these are herewith presented in the hope that students of the great German-American, now the subject of fast-increasing interest, may be enlisted in a general exploration of the field. Sealsfield's relations to his sources vary widely, from freest adaptation to wholesale adoption, from a wholly legitimate *rifacimento* to full-fledged and inexcusable plagiarism in the form of mechanical translation, sometimes vaguely acknowledged. In these notes the relation will be indicated for each case under consideration. Postl's versions are taken up in the order of their publication.

Tokeah (1829)

The Indian novel *Tokeah* was Sealsfield's first attempt at extended narrative. The romance was published anonymously, in Philadelphia, in 1829,¹ reprinted in London in the same year under an altered title, and several years later refashioned into the first of Sealsfield's German novels: *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1833). The provenience of *Tokeah* is traced by Mrs. Heller to a short story by "Alcanzor," contained in the *Saturday Evening Post* IV, No. 40, Oct. 1, 1825, and reprinted in the *Edwardsville (Illinois) Spectator*, VII, No. 16 (December 17, 1825). The plot of the tale, which bears the title "The Indian of the Falls' Valley, or The Foundling Maid," is identical with that of *Tokeah*. In both stories we have

¹ See the writer's "Bibliographical Notes on Charles Sealsfield," *Modern Language Review*, III, No. 4, pp. 360 ff.

the richly clad infant brought on a stormy winter's night by an Indian chief to the tavern in the wilderness kept by Major John Copeland and his wife, a rugged and uneducated but most kindly and honest backwoods pair. Under the guidance of these foster parents and the Indian chieftain, who claims the foundling after a few years and brings her up as his daughter, the girl develops into a paragon of beauty, grace, virtue, wisdom, and culture. Her description in both stories is almost maudlin in its sentimentality. She falls in love with, and marries, a noble youth named Arthur. The heroine's real father turns up at last (in the earlier sketch he is a British officer, in the more elaborate version a Spanish grandee) and the recognition and identification are effected by the favorite and infallible amulet method. In many other points of minor importance the two stories show identity or strong resemblance. As for the higher literary qualities, they are conspicuously absent in both. Sealsfield's English diction appears colorless, and the phraseology throughout *Tokeah* stereotyped. On the whole, however, it is so free from the stilted artificiality of the magazine tale that one is not tempted to believe that "Alcanzor" was an early pen-name of Charles Sealsfield. As for the general conception of Indian character, *Tokeah* shares with the "Foundling Maid" the gushing sentimentality with which the noble red man was regarded in the age of Chateaubriand and Fenimore Cooper; a form of conventional falsehood from which our author soon recoiled with an almost unprecedented vehemence. While the realism of Indian life even in *Der Legitime* leaves very much to be desired, in all other respects this ultimate transformation of that flimsy and hueless newspaper sketch into a composition full of coherent interest and vivid color challenges our admiration.

George Howard's, Esq., Brautfahrt (1834)

CHAP. II

The second chapter of *George Howard* (2d ed., pp. 46-91; 3d ed., pp. 52-98) bears the heading "Eine Nacht an den Ufern des Tennessee." The first portion, as is known, corresponds closely to the English sketch, "A Night on the Banks of the Tennessee," previously contributed by our author to the *New York Mirror and Ladies' Gazette* (October 31 and November 7, 1829). The remainder

of the chapter describes a political rally, a stump speech by the shirt-sleeve politician Bob Shags being a central feature. Mrs. Heller points out the unmistakable model for this comical harangue. It is found in a sketch entitled "Barney Blinn," published over the signature of "The Wanderer" in the *Illinois Intelligencer*, Vandalia, September 15, 1827 (XI, No. 24, whole No. 544), and there credited to the *Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle*. The sketch, under the motto: "My voice is still for War"—Cato," begins with the description of a rough and typically western tavern.¹ In both stories an accidental visitor at the caucus is saved from rough handling by the grace of the candidate for election, who recognizes in the stranger an old acquaintance.

The speeches of Blinn and Shags are extremely similar in form and argument. In both cases the anti-Adams meeting ends in a riot caused by the discovery in its midst of an Adams man. The misjoined rhetoric of Blinn and Shags abounds in parallel passages: the same puns, mispronunciations, and ridiculous folk-etymologic perversions, as Creeks for Greeks, Ministration for Administration, Jimmaky for Jamaica (rum). Concurrences like the following cannot be accidental. Barney Blinn: "One Colonel [colonial] Trade which is one of your very rankest colitioners." A little further on "Ginral Government" is spoken of as though it were an individual. *George Howard*, p. 86, 2d ed: "einen Ginral Tariff, der einer der tollsten Aristokraten ist." Or Barney Blinn: "if he ha'nt more real blood in his little finger than would swim a horse." *George Howard*, p. 72: "der mehr reelles Blut im kleinen Finger hat als ein Pferd zu schwemmen hinreichen würde."

In the present instance the reproduction for once answers the pattern closely in technical respects, and our source, despite its obscurity, assumes a marked significance as yielding some of those elements which Sealsfield used for a wholly novel and unique articulation of the American manner of being. Yet the possibility of Barney Blinn being a product of Sealsfield's own pen is also worth considering.

¹ From which, by the way, the following details were purloined verbatim for *Tokeah*: "Over the door was nailed an old sign, embellished with the words (more like Egyptian hieroglyphics) 'Entertainment for men and beasts' and on the side of the house written with chalk 'Whiskey'—'Brandy'—'Tobacco'—'Post Office.'"

CHAP. III

The superscription of the third chapter of *George Howard* is "Der Kindesräuber" (2d ed., pp. 92-132; 3d ed., pp. 98-139). This harrowing tale of kidnaping and murder was founded on facts, as is averred in a footnote: "Ueber die so eben angeführte Tatsache, die sich zu Ende des Jahres 1825 zugetragen, findet man in allen Zeitungen des Mississippi-Staates ausführliche Berichte. Der Name des unglücklichen Vaters ist beibehalten." Although the date given by Sealsfield appears to be erroneous, the actual event cannot well be questioned, since it was treated as a *cause célèbre* by newspapers all over the country. The crime must have occurred in the winter of 1826-27. My collaborator came across the story in the *Illinois Intelligencer*, Vandalia, August 25, 1827 (XI, No. 21, whole No. 541), where it is given under the title "The Lost Child." The article purports to be reprinted from the *Western Magazine and Review*, May, 1827. This, however, is a misnomer for the *Western Monthly Review*, of which further mention will have to be made as a source of Sealsfield. The article appeared in Vol. I, No. 1 (May, 1827) of this short-lived periodical, under the same title. A comparison between this seemingly authentic press account, "gleaned from the journals, . . . and corrected from a long conversation with the sheriff at Natchez," and the finished product of Sealsfield demonstrates the provenience of "Der Kindesräuber" from this particular account of the tragedy. The taking over of such material was as legitimate as it was conducive to the central aim of the *Lebensbilder*. The boldness of the early realist is here kept in fine balance by his artistic reserve. Not one fictitious detail was added to a piece of truth which to the romance-fed German reader must have indeed appeared stranger than fiction, in its stern simplicity. And yet under the touch of genius, the human pathos of the naked fact was raised to a power unattainable for the mere reporter, be he of the matter-of-fact or of the sensational species.

*Christophorus Bärenhäuter*¹

The burlesque story of "Christophorus Bärenhäuter im Amerikanerlande" undoubtedly owed its inclusion among the *Transatlantische*

¹ For the bibliography of this story see the writer's "Bibliographical Notes on Charles Sealsfield," quoted above.

Reiseskizzen to our author's desire, as voiced in the preface to the *Kajütenbuch*, to contrast against one another different types of nationality. The story is practically out of reach for modern readers, since the first edition of the *Reiseskizzen* survives in but very few copies, and from subsequent editions (renamed *Lebensbilder*) the "Bärenhäuter" extravaganza was barred out, probably because it would have severed the thread which connects that long-drawn succession of novels. In a not too definite way, Sealsfield indicated the origin of his story, yet with both original and reproduction steeped in utter oblivion, the lateness of the identification is not to be wondered at. The facetious preamble to "Bärenhäuter" asserts the authenticity of the yarn by referring to the archives of Toffelsville, viz., an old family Bible, and then proceeds: "Die Quellen unserer Geschichte sind daher über jeden Verdacht erhaben, und ihre Authentizität wird noch mehr durch den Umstand erhöht, dass ein Extrakt von dem mehrerwähnten Archive seinen Weg, durch welche Mittel, ist uns unbekannt, in das Magazin eines westlichen Predigers (Flint, der zehn Jahre Prediger im Mississippitale gewesen ist) nun bedauerlichermassen verblichen, gefunden hat," etc.

Although only three volumes of Flint's magazine saw the light of day, the search for a complete file proved long and difficult. The vandal recklessness of earlier America in dealing with records of its civilization is again illustrated by the fact that even in Cincinnati, where that periodical was published, only one out of the three volumes appears to have been preserved. Mrs. Heller located the original of "Christophorus Bärenhäuter" in Vol. I, No. 7, of *The Western Monthly Review*, edited by Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, November 1827. It runs from pp. 384-93 under the caption "Jemima O'Keefy—A Sentimental Tale," and was probably the editor's own work. Sealsfield has translated the English text with great fidelity, yet managed much to improve the story, particularly by touching up the silhouettes of the principal figures in a way calculated to bring them more distinctly into relief. The humor of the story, too, is heightened by his touches. The many curious features for which Sealsfield's style is noted manifest themselves here in an inchoate yet unmistakable fashion.

Das Kajütenbuch (1841)

"Der Fluch Kishogues oder der verschmähte Johannistrunk,"¹ a short story, belonging to the same grotesque genre as "Christophorus Bärenhäuter," is told by the Irish servant Phelim, at the Cabin symposium. It follows directly after the masterly narrative "Die Prairie am Jacinto," and fills, in the first edition, pp. 141-65 of the second volume (2d ed., pp. 121-44).

In substance it is hardly more than an elaborate anecdote, the *realia* of which and the *Galgenhumor*—literally taken—plainly bespeak an Irish origin. In the prefatory letter to the publishers (ostensibly written for the first edition, but not printed till the second) our author makes the fictitious editor of his works explain, on the "great unknown's" authority:

Auch bemerkt er ausdrücklich, . . . dass sämtliche Incidents sich auf Tatsachen gründen, etwa mit Ausnahme Kishogue's, den er als aus einer fremden Feder geflossen erklärt. Ob diese Feder eine freundlich bekannte, . . . wird nicht angegeben. Wahrscheinlich gefiel ihm die wilde Skizze irländischen Lebens und Sterbens, und er nahm sie auf, um die Gegensätze zwischen amerikanischem und wieder englischem und irischem Nationalcharakter mehr hervorzuheben, so den zweiten Titel "nationale Charakteristiken" zu rechtfertigen.

It is odd that the original of "Kishogue" has so long escaped identification, inasmuch as it happens to have been the work of a writer very popular in his day and even at this time deemed worthy of a complete and splendidly appareled edition of his writings. He was Samuel Lover, the Irish poet (1799-1868). "The Curse of Kishogue" (the alternative title is Sealsfield's) formed part of the *Legends and Stories of Ireland*, illustrated by the author and published in 1831. It is easily accessible now in *The Collected Writings of Samuel Lover* (Treasure Trove edition, Boston, Little, Brown & Co. [1903], VIII, 133-53; "The Curse of Kishogue," *Legends and Stories of Ireland*, second series, pp. 146-53). The translation, again, is on the whole close and exact. Such changes as appear were evidently dictated by Sealsfield's dictional idiosyncrasies, now fully developed, and they detract from the concise and grim comicality of the original Irish tale. This applies especially to the incessant repetition, with Sealsfield a favorite form of padding.

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¹ For sources of other parts of Sealsfield's *chef-d'œuvre* see P. Bordier, "Sealsfield, ses idées, ses sources, d'après le *Kajütenbuch*," *Revue germanique*, V, No. 3, pp. 273-300 and No. 4, pp. 370-421.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE OLD FRENCH *GUI DE WAREWIC*

The volume numbered xvi, I, 7 of the library of York Minster is a fine specimen of glossed Psalter of the thirteenth century. A recent scrawl in the library catalogue notes that "some pieces of French verse" had been bound in at front and back. These, on examination, proved to be four leaves of vellum containing fragments, hitherto unknown, of the Old French *Gui de Warewic*.¹

Through the kindness of the chapter clerk, Dr. J. Ramsay, I was enabled to examine the fragments more at leisure and later to obtain photographs. The leaves measure about 18 by 25 cm., with three columns of from 48 to 57 lines to the page. The total is some 1,200 lines, about one-tenth of the whole poem.

The leaves are misplaced as to sequence of text; two of them are very dirty, having been used probably as cover for another manuscript. I indicate the four leaves as found by *a, b, c, d*, but as to text they belong in the order *c, a, b, d*, with a gap between *a* and *b*.

Leaf *c*, *recto*, col. 2, ll. 1-6 (= Auchinleck MS, l. 1013, ed. Zupitza, p. 58):

[G]ui cum corteys respondi
 sue merci
jeo receveray cest present
la sue merci mlt bonement
Sa druerie volunteers recoil
Sun chevaler mes estre voil . . .

Ll. 31-32 (= Auchinleck MS, l. 1043):

En engleterre sen alerent
Le conte en Warewyke troverent

Col. 1 of this page (which I neglected to copy, not suspecting then that the leaves were misplaced) would therefore correspond to Auchinleck MS, l. 940, or thereabouts.

¹ Several of the MSS of *Gui de Warewic* have missing leaves, but, so far as I can judge, the new fragments belong to none of those which have been described in detail. The latest list is that of J. A. Herbert, given with his account of the newly found Edwardes MS, *Romania*, XXXV (1906), 69-70.

Leaf *a*, *recto*, col. 1 (= Auchinleck MS, l. 1271):

En le cors ert dune espeie naffré
Ke mlt li ad le cors grevé

Leaf *b*, *recto*, col. 1 (= Caius MS, l. 2593, ed. Zupitza, p. 157):

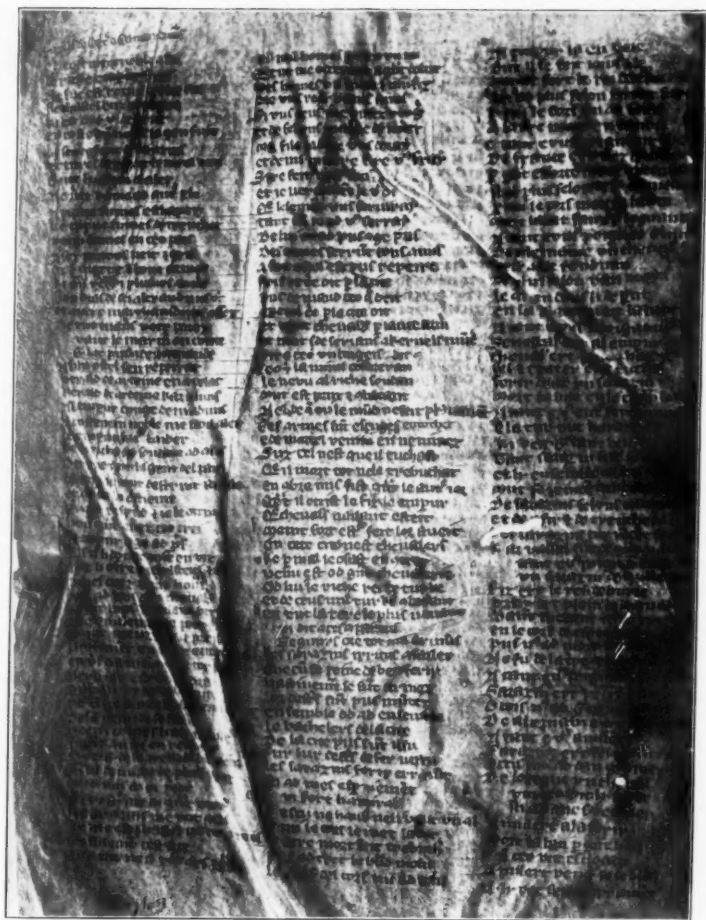
. . . . mi ces contes et ces baruns
. . . . rent de plusurs regiuns

Leaf *b*, *verso* (= Auchinleck MS, ll. 2819 ff.). As the shortest way to the identification and classification of the York fragments, I have had this (the clearest) page reproduced in facsimile. Col.1:

En costantinoble assis
Le richeemperur Hernis
Na lui est remis tor ne cité
Ne chastel enz el regné
Ki est ars .v. destruz
en costentinoble la gen[t] fuit
La sen defent de sarazins
et tures de persant de moravins
Cent lues porés aler
Ne verez home ad autre parle[r]
A paine sumes eschapez
Ke tut ne fumes detrenchet
venu sumes en ceo pais
Asez portuns veir *et* gris
Or *et* argent *et* bone[s] armes
Ki vertu unt [n vendi *expunged*]
plusurs maners
Bon[s] dras de sei alexandrins
[pels de sartre e salmandrins(?)]¹
et autre[s] marchandises assez
De tut maners veer porez.
[Q]uant le mariner ou[t] conté
.G. lat pus a deu commandé
A sun hostel sen repeirat
Herald de ardeine en apelat
Herald de ardeine kar aluns
Al emperur congé demanduns
A costentinoble me voil aler
le emperur *sucur[e]* *et* aider
Ke li riche [ad *expunged*] soudant
ad asis

Dit me(?) unt la gent del pais
Le regne unt destruit *et* degasté
Et abat[u] la crestienté.
Herald respund *et* je le otray
Honur grant avez ceo crei
Al emperur *congé* ad pris
Mes il li donat mlt en viz
Asez li ofre [or *expunged*] chasteus
et turs
Riches citez *et* grant honurs
Pus ad pris cen[t] chevalers
Ke sunt bons *et* vaillant bers
Que en alemaine poit truver
Et que meuz sunt a preiser.
Hastiment en mer entrat
envers costentinoble tot alat
Herbe[r]gé est en la cité
Quant al emperur ert conté
Ke .G. de Warewyke venu esteit
De sa venu lé se feseit.
Par deus contes li ad mandé
. . grant amor en reisuné
Sire .G. de Warewike b vens
. . . munde le plus parfeiz
Mut vus ai oi priser
De vostre aie ai grant meter :
Les sarazins me unt asis
Ne me est chastel ne tor remis
for sulement cest[e] cité
Que tut nen unt ars *et* gasté.

¹ Line omitted here; supplied at the top of col. 1.



YORK MINSTER xvi, I, 7, fol. b, verso
Fragment of the Old French *Gui de Warewic*



Col. 2 (= Auchinleck MS, ll. 2881 ff.):

.vl. mil homes perdi en un jor
 Qe tut me occerent a grant dolor
 Mes homes un[t] mort *et* mun fiz
 Ore vus requer beaus amis
 Si vus deus me pusez venger
 Et de feluns ma terre deleverer
 Ma file la bele vus doray
 et demi ma terre sire vus fray
 Sire fait [G] vostre merci
 et je veraiment le vus di
 Qe lelement vus serviray
 tant *cum* je od vus serray
 De lui en ad pus *congé* pris
 Desormes serrunt bons amis
 A sun ostel est pus repeiré
 Nois[e] et crie oit *par* la cité
 Pus demand[e] ceo *que* deit
 Que tel crie *par* la cité o[e]it
 et tant chevalers *par* la cité armer
 et tant [s] *expunged* de serjans a
 kernels munter.
 Sire ceo un borgeis dit
 Ceo *est* lamiral cosdreran
 Le nevu al riche soudan
 Mut est pruz *et* combatant
 Ne *quide* *quen* le mund ne seit plus
 vaillant
 Ces armes sunt es cuges¹ entochez
 e de mortel venim envenimez
 Suz cel nest que il tuchast

Qe il mort tot ne le trebuchas[st].
 Encombre nus fist grant le autre
 jor
 Quant il occist le fiz le emperur
 Qe chevalers vailant esteit
 Meint fort estur fait lor aveit
 En cete cité nest chevalers
 Ke *par* mal le osast *encontrer*
 venu est od grant chevalerie
 Od lui le riche rei de turk[i]e
 et de cens mil turks combatant
 en tut[e] la tere le plus vailant.
 [G]ui dit a ces compainu[n]s
 Segnurs ore tot nus armuns
 Le[s] sarazins irruns asailer
 Checun se peine de ben ferir
 Hastivement se sunt armez
 Lor destrers sunt pus muntez
 Ensemble od [els] ad ensemblé
 Le[s] bachelers de la cité
 De la cité pus sunt issu
 Sur lur destrers de fer vestu
 Les sarazins ferir errament (?)
 Ni ad mes esparniement.
 [G]ui fert li amiral
 Escu ne haub[erc] ne li vaut un al
 Parmi le cors le met lascier
 A tere mort fait trebucher
 Pus ad tret le brand molu
 Le chef del cors lui ad tolu

Col. 3 (= Auchinleck MS, ll. 2941 ff.):

Al emperur la enveié
 Dunt il se fait joius *et* lé
 Heralte fert le rei de turkie
 Ni ad plus felon en tut Surie
 Parmi le cors en ad feru
 A la terre mort entendu
 E tant e vus poignant theba[ut]
 De france ert nez *que* mlt vaut

Par grant efforte va ferir heke-
 moan (?)
 Nad plus felon desk al melant
 parmi le cors met sa lance
 Mort labat sanz purloignance
 A tant e vus poignant Gunter
 De alemaine un chevaler
 Ferir alat ronduan

¹ cuges is perhaps *çoches*, mod. Fr. *souches*.

| | |
|---|--|
| De plus felon uan ne oistes | fiz ert le rey de burie |
| Le quer en deus li departit | Pruz ert plein de chevalerie |
| En la place mort labatit | Dant Thebaut nus ad tut . . . |
| A tant e vus morgadur | En le cors de espee feru |
| Senescal ert al emperur | Pus vus ad mort un frances |
| chevalers ert pruz et hardiz | Né fu de la terre de bleis |
| fel et trater ert tut dis | A tant e vus poignant remirant |
| ferir alat un sarazin | Sarazin ert pruz et vaillant |
| Mort labat en le champ sovin. | Occis nus ad Guinemant |
| A tant [e vus <i>expunged</i>] entrefer- | De Alemaine un alemant |
| ent commu[n]abl[ement] | A tant e vus anulert |
| En la tur vu[n]t hardiment | Sarazins ert fel et culfert |
| Ki veit .G. tant ben ferir | Occis nus ad dan guimer |
| Tant sarazin fist le jor mo[rir] | De loregne un chevaler |
| et .h. ensemble od lui | c vus (<i>for Quant?</i>) ceo vit .h. li ber |
| Mut se peinent ambedui | Ni ad mes recoverer |
| De sarazins felons encombrer | Amulert ala ferir |
| et deconfir et detrencher | Mort labati par grant haïr |
| Les sarazins lur rendent fort | Cum ceo vit esclodart |
| Kar vassal sunt de grant valor | Anulert venger se se[m]blat tart |
| [A] tant e vus poignant esclodart | A .h. vat ferir errament . . . |
| un sarazin de male part | |

Leaf *d*. (= Auchinleck MS, ca. l. 3000 to ca. l. 3375). The *verso* is hardly legible; col. 1, l. 17, however, can be identified with Auchinleck MS, l. 3209.

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